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The Roll of Press in the Home
Rule Movement in Madras

3rd Jan - 31st Dec 1917.

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1917

செப்பனிடுபவர் பெயர்

செப்பனிடுவதற்காக எடுத்துக்
கொள்ளப்பட்ட நாள் 07

செப்பனிட்டு முடித்த நாள் 2/08

சரிபார்க்கும்
முதிர்பா. எ.
கையொப்பம்

ஆராய்ச்சி உதவி
யாளர்
கையொப்பம்

I

216. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 4th January,,1917, Page 54, Para 75.)

The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 4th January, writes:--

The desire for Home Rule is spreading almost everywhere in our Indian cities. Home Rule Associations have been formed at Gudivada, Hyderabad (Sindh), Karachi, Kanouli (?), Berhampur and numerous other places. Constitutional liberty is heaven itself. A bureaucratic administration would never uphold the rights and liberties of the people. Only ~~righ~~ rich men and officials can get the objects of their desire under it.

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217. "The President of the Congress' imopportune cry."

(Dated 28th December, 1916, Page 55, Para 83.)

The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 28th December writes:--

The President in his address said: India is quite prepared for Home Rule which should be granted very soon"

The editor, in traversing the statement of the President that India is quite prepared for Home Rule, says:--

"What does he mean by India? If he means that both the Hindus and Mussalmans are anxious for self-government we would, without fear of contradiction,

say plainly that it is false. We know that not a single Mussalman can be found in India who does not view Home Rule with abhorrence, while he admits the blessings of the present Government. Our brethren should be asked to say what Government gave them so much education. Where they have been trained to govern and through which Government they have obtained honour and respect."

The editor proceeds to say self-government for India would be like making a healthy man sick. We have, on several previous occasions, discussed this subject, and have said that self government for India where divers nationalities exist could never prove profitable.

The Qaumi Report, of the 28th December, referring to the address of the President of the Congress, writes:-- It is a very touching tome consisting of suggestions proposals, grievances, demands and statements of facts. More or less the contents are the same as those ~~as those~~ that are written on fleshy tables of the heart of every Indian.

The man who declares that he does not desire independence is a liar, he who says he has no grievance is a sycophant, he who is conscious of no ambition is a base fellow, and above all is it true that the individual or nation that has recourse to improper means is an arch-rebel.

As to Home Rule the fact is we are certainly in accord with the idea, but we are first and foremost loyal servants of the Government of Islam and of the rule of the faith.

Although we are one with India's present and future hopes, we would not sacrifice the feelings of our faith

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on the altar of those hopes.

Although we are the friends of the sons of Mahabharata we cannot wreck the ship of our national feelings in the ocean of their love and friendships.

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218. The Congress and the Home Rule for India.

(Dated 3rd January, 1917, Page 79, Para 8.)

The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 3rd January, observes:--

"The self government resolution was the piece de resistance at the Congress feast and round it centred the pick of the orations. Mr.Surendranath Banerjee, of course, led and he was followed by a host of the lesser orators. Stripped of its verbiage and the orations which commended it to the acceptance of the delegates, the resolution was but a reiteration of the creed of the Congress as defined by the Allahabad Convention, that the goal of the Congress was the attainment of some form of self-government under the aegis of Britain. So that there was no capturing of the Congress by the extremists and there is no occasion for high glee in any quarter that the politics of Mrs.Besant and Mr.Tilak triumphed at Lucknow..........Political progress is our watchward but that progress has to be achieved by hard and steady toil, and it cannot be had for the asking. If only the leaders of the community would cease to be enamoured of political shibboleths and are determined upon freeing society of the cankers which are eating into the very vitals of it, they would be nearer the goal of self government than any number of perfervid orations can lead them to."

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219. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 22nd December, 1917, Page 93, Para 39.)

The Prapanchamitran, of the 22nd December, publishes the following summary of the lectures delivered on this subject by Mr.G.S.Arundale and Mr.Tilak before the Bombay Home Rule League:--

Mr.Arundale.--We had swaraj even in our ancient days. It was superior to the kind of swaraj that now prevails in the west. Everything in the west now is gloomy. We have no need to be highly grateful to the English people for the Government we now have. It is nothing new. We have had it of old, and it is of an inferior order now. All this has been borrowed by the western nations from us. All that they call new is false. It is even thus that they deceived us when we started the swadesi idea. Our swadesism proved a failure, only because they stuck upon their own cloths printed labels with the words "Indian manufacture" and "Made in India", and thus had recourse to fraudulent ways. It was in the same way that Lord Morley also deceived us. He was forced English education upon us by telling the people in England that we do not wish to have our own education and that we ask for something new. We do not want ~~want~~ English education. There is nothing for us to learn from England. All that it has taught us is that a foreign Government does not suit us in the least and that therefore we must now be given swaraj. Some persons think that India is yet a child and can be handled as they like, which is quite wrong. Every Indian now wishes for swaraj. It is enough if there is this wish. As we suffer difficulties more and more,

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our anxiety will increase. We are indebted to the Bombay Government for the anxiety it feels on account of Mr. Tilak and Mrs.Besant. All that it does is to our own good. Be that as it may, will we allow things to take such a course if we had swaraj? Never! Now we are not masters even in our own houses and that is why things have come to such a pass. Cannot Mrs.Besant go to any part of India she likes, if we had swaraj? Will not Mr.Tilak be honoured wherever he went? Who will th then issue such orders? But it does not matter. All the troubles these persons undergo are only to our advantage. Their troubles will bring us swaraj all the sooner. We ought to be thankful to the Government of Madras and the Central Provinces also. Home Rule Leagues have been formed extensively in both these Provinces. It is only natural that censure by the Government and the appreciation of the public should go hand in hand. But India can yet regain its life and rise up. It will rise up. It will also become a power. The west cannot always domineer the east. India and England should walk hand in hand. England should realise that its work in India has been accomplished. We should not be treated in our own country as if we are strangers who have come to a foreign land. We have the capacity to do all that we need to do. Even if we cannot do anything else, we will at least revive our old culture and education and all of us will go about wearing arms. It is not necessary that we should excel others in all these things. It is better to be governed ill by ourselves than to be governed well by others. What we demand is our birthright. This is the object of the Home Rule League. Therefore all should join in this league. Those that do not join this are not true sons of India.

Mr.Tilak:-- Our ancient kings were always willing to fulfil our ~~objectxxxx~~ objects. It is only now that our wishes are thrown in the back-ground. Nothing takes place in accordance with our wishes. We have to conduct ourselves in accordance with the wishes, ~~Wexhavexto conductxourselvesxinxaccordance~~ to those who carry on the administration. We do not want this. The kings were not empowered to make laws in the ancient days in India. They could not even alter them . Land-tax, too, was then permanently fixed. This is not the case now. We had castes then also. All that the foreign Government has done is to degenerate them. Fault after fault has been heaped up, and it is impossible now to rectify ~~x~~ these faults. All that can be done by the Government ~~bxxx donexisxtoxde~~ now is to grant swaraj. It is not becoming to the Government itself to keep us like servants any longer. It is harmful to itself. It is the agents of the Government and not we that are benefited by the present state of affairs. This is a fitting time for us to ask fof swaraj. If we let this opportunity go, we do not know when it will come again. We should not be intimidated by anything. There is no reason for us to be afraid of the Government too in this matter. We should set/ to work even now. Unless we do so, it is better to die than to live.

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220. The Congress self-government resolution.

(Dated 10th January, 1917, Page 125, Para 16.)

The following appears in the Wednesday Review for the week ending 10th January:--

We have reason to believe that the self-government resolution as passed at the Lucknow Congress was a toned-down edition of the draft which the wilder spirits at the Subjects Committee insisted upon having. The draft resolution demanded absolute control of domestic affairs, but the contradiction between that portion of the resolution which made India an integral part of the empire and the demand for absolute independence in domestic matters was not patent to the patriots who wanted to go the whole hog. But though the odds were against him and the draft had been adopted by a majority of the Subjects Committee with loud clappings of hands and like demonstrations of triumph, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya felt it his duty to explain the contradiction and prevailed upon the Subjects Committee to take a more sensible view of the situation. It would appear that Mrs.Besant would not brook the interference of the Pandit and threatened that if he would insist upon his amendment, he and those who voted with him would have cause to rue their attitude on the following day at the Congress. The Pandit, however, did not submit to the threat and vindicated in one of his ablest speeches the position taken up by himself and the older Congress leaders who were twitted by Mrs.Besant with being in a hopeless minority........The vigorous defence of his position helped in rousing the dormant conscience of the member of the Subjects Committee who had at first vociferously

supported Mrs.Besant's unreasonable and impracticable demands, and the draft as amended by the Pandit was ultimately carried. ......It is an encouraging circumstance that there are at least left a handful of leaders ~~in the name of~~ who cherish no illusions as to the privileges which may be secured for India in the name of Home Rule and though they are unable to stem the current, they succeed in moderating the wildness of its career."

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221. <u>India and the Empire.</u>

(Dated 18th January, 1917, Page 135, Para 34.)

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 18th January, says:--

"Political hypocrisy of an insidious kind is being exhibited in the novel pastime of finding a place for India in the Imperial Parliament which it appears certain will be established after the war......... Non-Indian views as to the part India should be allowed to play in Imperial affairs are as varied as they are bewildering and while it is generally agreed that some consideration should be given to Indian sentiment in the matter, there appears to be a remarkably unanimous consensus of opinion that, for various causes, the brightest jewel in the Imperial diadem' cannot be given self-governing powers and therefore cannot be treated on a footing of perfect equality with the rest of the Empire........One class of men frankly and emphatically deny that any case has been made out for lifting India from the present servile and

and humble position...... These fire-eaters and political extremists, who would exploit India for their own purposes and keep down with a high hand any attempt at freedom, are getting reduced in number. Their pranks may please some Englishmen, but the large majority of the latter, for reasons of expediency at least, do not openly avow such amiable sentiments. There is the other class of super-journalists of the type of Mr.L.Curtis and students of politics gathered round the Round Table who profess to be still occupied in studying the conditions of India with a view to find out how the services of Indians of advanced views could be utilised in the service of the Empire......It appears that, in Mr.Curtis' interviews with a few Indians which he had during his stay in Madras, Mr.Curtis cleverly and dexterously avoided and discussion of this dangerous project of his, and this lends colour to the just apprehensions entertained about yet secret character of this deep-laid conspiracy which claims, according to Mr.Curtis, many adherents among high officials in India. Mr-Polak appears to be confident that the bulk of his countrymen will not entertain the revolting idea for one moment. We agree with him, because a people who are engaged in a war for freeing small nations from the domination of Prussianism and who are also aware of the shameful and despicable behaviour of Colonials towards coloured races, cannot be so lost to all sense of justice and fair play as to permit the dominions to share with them the task of governing India. The ridiculous nonsense, which Mr.Curtis gives expression to--the self governing capacity and the civilising mission of the Colonies--comes with ill-grace from a class of oppressors who, for selfish reasons and from bitter racial bias, ground down Indians who, on their part, exhibited remarkable powers of forbearance, organisation and self-

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control. We are not in a position to say what impressions he has gathered from his study of India on the spot, but he should by this time have become aware of the fact that any authoritative countenance to his worthless plan will surely bring about a revolution in the land and it cannot be carried out without bloodshed, notwithstanding that high officials have given their questionable adherence to the vicious and poisonous doctrine......He is gathering materials for forming his judgment on the question how leading citizens in India and Egypt, who now stand on an equal footing with Europeans, are to make their voices heard in their own Governments and in that of the Commonwealth. To those who know the company in which he has moved the inspiration he has received and the prejudices with which he has started his inquiry, the results of his investigation cannot be in doubt........Milnerites can never bring peace and contentment to Dependencies; they are a thorn on the side of progress of freedom and calamitous consequences will be the only result of adopting their pernicious proposals......We now come to another class of friends of India not different essentially from those about whom we have written above, but anxious to seem to please Indians and show to the world that they hold the scales of justice evenly. It is interesting to follow their trend of reasoning which they think to be clever, but which cannot deceive the Indian public......The disillusionment comes as soon as the friends begin to enter into details........Our 'friends' are averse to go the full length of their reasoning and suggest representation only by Indians, for the latter, in their opinion, could not be part of the governing body of the empire, neither the elected, nor the electors being part of the governing body of India. If you do so make them, they will form

the narrowest oligarchy known in modern times. We have had enough of this cant of narrow oligarchy and the dishonest talk of safeguarding the interests of millions of India. This oligarchy is, any day better than the handful of men who form the alien bureaucracy, and, by reason of belonging to the people themsleves, will be better looked after by them. Their interests, being identical with those of t e oligarchy, will be many times more secure in their hands than with the powerful but insignificant bureaucracy. Political disingeniousness and rooted enemity to Indian progress inspire such silly plans which are logically unsound and constitute an insult to the people. The governing classes in England, what do they form? The bitter quarrels among parties in the so-called self governing colonies-- What do they show? The labour x troubles, the occasional outburst of civil wars, the squalor and misery of the down-trodden in the slums-what do they indicate? Why do these 'friends' not lo k about their own conditions before they pompously and with pretended impartiality, lay down the law for India and suggest fanci-ful projects and impossible plans? Indians have to guard themselves as much against these well-wishers, as against Curtises and Milners. Both are enemies of self government for India: one class is frank and the other hides its enmity in beneficent, good-for-nothing platitudes."

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222. Home Rulers and Native States.

(Dated 17th January, 1917, Page 39, Para 41.)

The Karnataka, of the 17th January, remarks:--

"We thank the Mahratta for the assurance that the Home Rulers of British India will be with us in our endeavours to secure our own political emancipation. As we have so often pointed out, the struggle in India today is between bureaucracy and democracy; and the Native States are no exception. The 'crushing' influence of the officialdom' is no less to be dreaded in the States than in British India; and while the generosity of a Prince or the patriotism of a Diwan may be trusted to effect some temporary good, the permanence of the State's well-being can be ensured only by the people administering their affairs through their own chosen representatives, subject of course to the formal approval of the Sovereign. The principle of popular liberty is one and the same all the world over; and if Indians in British India may sympathise with the Irish struggle for Home Rule, might they not befriend the cause of their own brethren nearer home? We commend the Mahratta's candour for emulation by our Madras brethren."

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223. **The seal of the Congress on the H°me Rule movement.**

(Dated 12th January, 1917, Para 97.) Page 156.

In a leading article, under this heading, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 12th January, writes:--

What is it that this year's Congress effected-- the Congress which was broken up at Surat and which brought together again this year all classes, communities and parites? What is it that this United Congress did at the historical city of Lucknow? The answer is:-- It set its seal to the Home Rule propaganda, During this one year there has scarcely been a public meeting and scarcely a newspaper which did not reflect this desire for Home Rule. Whenever two educated Indians meet in a railway compartment they are able to exchange some cordial words on the Home Rule question even if they be quite strangers to each other. Even if there be a liberal minded Englishman in their midst, whatever the Englishman's final attitude may be, and the topic of Home Rule is sure to be raised. Just as it is being discussed everywhere by the masses, whether in their talk, or in newspapers of at meetings, the popular representatives too are beginning to be keen upon it. The topic has entered even His Excellency the Viceroy's council. Further,, in consequence of all this, even some liberal English officers are heard to say, "Amen" to this prayer. When this desire for Home Rule thus commends itself from the masses upwards to the members of the Imperial Legislative Council and even to the authorities, what objection can there be to regarding it as a legitimate desire? And how can this universal desire fail to be manifest at the

Congress proceedings? That is why the Chairman of the Reception Committee as well as the President of the Congress had given such prominence to this question. Moreover, when it came up for discussion, Hindus, Moslems, Europeans, Indian Christians, Parsis, as also moderates and extremists--all parties showed their respective zeal and enthusiasm regarding it. The revered veteran and leader of the moderate party Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea moved the resolution, the European Christian Mrs. Besant, the Indian Christian Mr. Baptista, the Moslem the Hon'ble Mr. Haque, the Parsi Sir Dinshaw Patit, and again the moderate the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviaya, and the nationalists Mr. Lokamanya Tilak and Khaparde--in all 17 different leaders of the various classes and communities spoke on this one resolution and it was passed. Our readers might therefore infer that since the National Congress has thus set its seal to the Home Rule propaganda, no objection will be raised to it henceforth. The Anglo-Indians, however, who are anti-Home Rulers, are still continuing their cry against it. Let them! That is their vow. Our interests and theirs are diametrically opposed, so, judging from their past, it would not be surprising if these Anglo-Indians should wish for as many parties among us or fail to wish for unanimity among us. It would be enough to mind our own duty. It is the realisation of this duty that has brought about such strong union among the Indian nation in every respect. We rejoice to announce therefore that the National Congress and the Moslem League have set their seals to the Home Rule resolution.

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224. Non-Brahmans and Home Rule.

(Dated 21st January, 1917, Page 189, Para 16.)

The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 21st January, writes:--

"Mrs. Besant's paper tells a lie when it says that every Brahmana' and 'non-Brahmana' of note 'is a Home Ruler.' It is not so Among the prominent 'Non - Brahmamanas' who are not Home Rule s, and more than that, who are opposed to it, are Diwan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon, Dr. T.M. Nayar, Rao Bahadur P. Tyagaraja Chettiar. There is Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai, and of course, he is a very prominent 'Non-Brahmana, but because of his sacrificing more immediate needs for very distant realities, he is fast losing touch with his own great community. Of course he is more than compensated for it by the praise from his theosophical chief; and his repudiation has got him praise from the Punjab--Why? Because the two Punjab daily papers are edited by Madras Brahmans! And instinctively they have attacked the Non-Brahman movement."

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225. The Home Rule question.

The Dated 19th January, 1917, Page 227, Para 110.)

The Swadeshabimani, of the 19th January, writes:--

Since the appearance of the Home Rule question in the political arena many new things are being discovered. The first of these is the oblique view point of the government. But this did not last long. The outlook became clear with the recognition of the fact that the ideal of swaraj and th methods adopted in order to achieve it are constitutiona;. But the minds of some of the officers are still uneasy. Just as this outlook was becoming brighter owing to the clear and cutting words of responsible authorities like the Viceroy and of the supreme tribunals such as the High Courts, the heart-burning of the
began to be seen at its worst. The ominous cries of the Anglo Indians
Anglo-Indians writhing under this pain were drowned by the victorious trumpet of Home Rule unanimously sounded by the H,ndus and Mosle s, moderates and extremists, and all natural and artificial classes and communities forgetting all their differences. The present Brahmin-Non-Brahmin controversy, however, is another fresh cloud enveloping the orb of Home Rule. The Brahmins and Non-Brahmins need not think themselves different. When the Vedas themselves say that they were all born of Virat, why should they construct any barrier between themselves? There is no need to presume at present that the Brahmins will forsake or trod over the Non-Brahmins. Is it not Brahmins that have been urging the scheme of compulsory primary education? Is the bulk of illiteracy to be found among the Brahmins or the Non-Brahmins? For whose benefit, then, is this reform necessary? Those who suggested this reform

however are Brahmins. It is deplorable that such differences should arise in the mind of one so wise and learned as Mr-Thyagaraja Chettiar who had urged fiscal autonomy at the Industrial Conference held at Madras two years ago. It is to be hoped however that the advice of Mr.Kesava Pillai and of the General Secretary of the Vokkaligara Sangha, Bangalore, will cause this new scene to close before long. It is likewise the duty of the Brahmins to give up their narrow- mindedness. We want neither Gokhale's badge nor Mr.Chetty's badge at present. The one badge we need is the badge of Home Rule for India.

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226. India and Home Rule.

(Dated 24th January, 1917, Page 229, Para 112.)

In an article, in English, under the heading "The Young Men's Indian Association and the gospel of Home Rule and Boy Scout Movement," a correspondent of the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 24th January, writes:--"Mr.George S.Arundale like Mrs.Annie Besant has become an ardent patriot of India. He, like Mrs-Besant, holds that the foundation of Home Rule should be patriotism, the true religion of any country.........What man has done man can do. If Washington made America great, any school boy can make India great, provided he subordinates everything else to the great object of his ambition. History furnishes numerous examples of the possibilities of great things. ...... Is India a barren country? Are there not three hundred and fifteen million people in India? Are not one million

of people at least animated by a selfless desire to serve India, their mother? If India is barren, and if her children are so unpatriotic, if the Indians hug slavery and are fond of moral fetters and manacles, I leave them to themselves. Let India be a hell, and let the Indians wallow in their sty. But I would call to their mind that even the Satan of Milton's Pandemonium preferred to reign in hell than serve in heaven. If Indians do not want Home Rule, they deserve to be the denizens of hell. By the dispensation of Providence, we have Englishmen as our Rulers. They are the greatest Home Rulers on earth. It is a great pity, if we do not take advantage of this opportunity to claim and deserve Home Rule........All educated men who have not sold themselves for filthy lucre deserve to become ardent Home Rulers. The Motto of the Home Rule League and the Boy Scout movement should be loyalty and devotion to the British Empire and death or victory in earning Home Rule for India. This is the message of Mrs.Besant, Mr. Arundale and all true Indian patriotic Home Rulers. We want modern Sanyasis. They must be Sanyasis who are prepared to sacrifice everything for the good of India. They must, if necessary, become martyrs for Home Rule. At a time like this, when united action on the part of the Indians is so absolutely necessary, the enemies of India are engineering the policy of divide and destroy. The seeds of dissension that are being sown between Brahmans and Non-Brahmans have begun to disintegrate the forces of the Home Rule. Most of the Brahmans are prepared to give up public service, the bone of contention and take to other walks of life, if it will please the Non-Brahmans. It is a pity that the insidious syren songs of the enemies of India, whose motto is divide ~~et imperia~~ et impera' is being anxiously listened to by people who are expected to stand by each other not only for their national interest, but also for the glory of the empire to which they have the

honour to belong. We hope that Brahmans and Non-Brahmans will try to bury the apple of discord thrown between them by their enemies. They must see how their interests are inseparable. They must realise how one community becomes weak, if not impotent without the other. They must unite themselves heart and soul\ for the glofy of their country and of themselves. The Indians must forget the differences among the different races, castes, subcastes to which they belong. They must merge all their racial, religious and caste distinctions which are merely of a conventional character. They must ~~xbe xxxxxthexxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ animated by a feeling that they are Indians and that they should as such behave like the selfless children of the same mother. I hope with this spirit, the patriotic sons of India will start as many Young Men's Indian Associations and Boy Scout Leagues as there are cities and towns. They must carry the torch of the Home Rule League throughout the length and breadth of India, and preach the gospel of Home Rule wherever they go. If the rising generation of India or if a portion, at least, of them make up their mind to become patriotic Sanyasis, the problem of Home Rule is bound to be solved in the course of a generation. We pray that God the Almighty will smile upon the noble efforts made in this direction, and that the rising generation of India will as soon as they rise from their bed, think what they are to do to earn Home Rule, and before they go to their beds at night examine what they did during the day to deserve and earn Home Rule. My hopes are with the rising generation, and I pray to God to fire them with the spirit of those great Home Rulers of Great Britain, who allowed their bodies to become the foundation stones of the glorious British Home Rule edifice which illumines the whole world with its unsurpassed glory to-day."

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227. The Government of the Central Provinces and Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 27th January, 1917, Page 264, Para 11.)

The Hindu, of the 27th January, writes:--

"Sir Benjamin Robertson has had another opportunity of defending his indefensible prohibition of Mrs.Annie Besant from entering the Central Provinces, and the case has been made worse for the advocacy.......We have had it from Mrs.Besant that there was no engagement for her at Amraoti other than that connected with the Theosophical Conference at that place. It is then preposterous that Sir Benjamin should still say that Mrs.Besant intended to address political gatherings....... The Chief Commissioner says that the character of that demonstration should be judged from a speech made by what he calls Mrs.Besant's'emissary.' That gentleman, we fancy, is quite able to take care of himself, but it is a vicarious and anticipatory punishment that Sir Benjamin has thought fit to inflict on that estimable lady-- a step which is opposed to all canons of fairplay and justice. Mrs.Besant cannot certainly be made responsible for the speeches of her'emissary:' this is very elementary. If his speeches were bad, it was quite open to the Chief Commissioner to move the courts and get the alleged offender tried according to law. But it was absolutely preposterous that in defence of the step the alleged objectionable character of utterances made subsequent to the official prohibition should have been cited. The tendency is growing among administrators in this country to indulge in statements the truth of which they are disinclined to have authoritatively tested by courts of law. This is a dangerous tendency which, in the interests of liberty of speech and of writing, should be

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curbed and not allowed to grow."

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228. Home Rule Scheme.

(Dated 26th January, 1917, Page 296, Para 80.)

Referring to the details of the discussion regarding the Home Rule resolution of the Congress, the Swadeshabhimani, of the 26th January, writes:--

These are the main principles of the future Home Rule scheme agreed upon by the joint committee of the Hindus and Moslems. These details go to show how totally free is the scheme from any undue favouritism or disabilities in regard to any class or community, and how truly representative it is of every one of them. Home Rule, then, is nothing, but a representative form of Government. If our benign Government should hesitate to grant us this, then we must say that the days of ascendency for India are as far off as ever. As neither the reforms urged by the 19 non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council nor the reforms urged by the Congress are against the root principles of the British constitution, we have no hesitation in saying that they are altogether unobjectionable.

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229. The zamindars and Home Rule.

(Dated 29th January, 1917, Page 297, Para 83.)

The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 29th January, writes:-- Home Rule has many opponents in our country. Some people are engaged in stirring up ill-will by insinuating that Home Rule will mar the supremacy of the British and also the liberty enjoyed by the zamindars at present. It behoves all people to reflect over the pros and cons of this question and arrive at the right understanding. The British have many Colonies under them. They have Home Rule. They are independent; and yet the help they offered in the present crisis served to stem the tide of German aggression. Even the Roman Empire was swept away by the deluge caused by the overrunning of the Germans. The British were now able to crush them. Is this not due to the Home Rule enjoyed by the Colonies? Will not our loyalty and affection towards the British increase still further if they should grant Home Rule to India also? Just when the British were hesitating to grant us Home Rule, we sacrificed our all in the interests of the British. With the obtaining of Home Rule, we shall be ready even to lay down our lives for the British. It is wicked to insinuate that Home Rule will affect the zamindars. On the grant of Home Rule all Native Rulers and Zamindars will form the Indian House of Lords. The representatives of the masses will form the Commons. The Viceroy, of course, will continue to exercise all final and supreme authority, so that these parliaments can enforce no administrative measures without His Excellency the Viceroy's sanction. This is the kind of Home Rule we ask for. Nobody's interests will be injured thereby. Everybody will be benefited. We are, therefore, surprised to see some

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~~some~~ wicked people sow seeds of discord without understanding things rightly.

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230. <u>The Government of Madras and Mr.B.P.Wadia.</u>

(Dated 3rd February, 1917, Page 324, Para 8.)

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 3rd February, says:--

It will be seen from what appears elsewhere that His Excellency the Governor in Council not only issued notices yesterday to Mr.B.P.Wadia to abstain from delivering his prosposed lecture and to all the newspapers not to publish the same, but also sent a notice to Mrs.Besant not to preside at the meeting, and further directed through the Commissioner of Police that the Gokhale Hall should be closed for the lecture.........The elaborate precautions which the Madras Government took to prevent the lecture being delivered and reported, look as if they were the result of panic at an apprehended public danger of enormous magnitude. Surely the provisions of the Defence of India Act were not enacted for such a purpose. A short demi-official letter from the Chief Secretary to Mr.Wadia or a personal interview would have secured the object without the expenditure of so much powder and shot, and the creation of so much sensation in the City."

(Dated 4th February, 1917, Page 324, Para 8.)

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The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 4th February,

The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 4th February, remarks:--

"Last Friday evening young Home Rulers who were lost in worship of mother Besant and angel Wadia and were hurrying to drink deep of the nectar from the lips of the already anointed martyr Mrs.Besant and about to be anointed martyr Mr.Wadia were rudely reminded that there was a God above Satan. The pastime of defying the Government and passing into martyrdom has been going on for long. From being the peaceful Presidency, Madras is at kindling temperature and young men have been filled with curious notions of patriotism. One wishes the Government had moved earlier. Better late than never. It is to be hoped that Justice would soon be out, and that it would stem this tide of defying the Government. The atmosphere of Madras schools is poisoned, and it will we fear, be very long time, indeed, before we can reach the normal temperature."

(Dated 6th Bebruary, 1917,)

The West Coast Spectator, of the 6th February, observes:--

"The Madras Government have prohibited Mr. B.P.Wadia from repeating or publishing the lecture he delivered at Nagpur (Amraoti?) during the Conference week and which was characterised by Sir Benjamin Robertson as seditious. We do not care to accept a brief from the local Government, but we are inclined to think that they were justified in having issued the order. Seditious or not seditious a local government has pronounced against the speech and another Government could hardly be expected to reject this finding."

231. Sir Benjamin Robertson and Mr.Wadia.

(Dated 1st February, 1917, Page 348, Para 59.)

Referring to the remarks of Sir Benjamin Robertson on the speeches of Mr.Wadia in the Central Provinces, the Andhrapatrika, of the 1st February, remakks:--

The words of Sir Benjamin Robertson are injurious to our patriotic life, and to constitutional agitation. They look like incoherent prattle made when it was found impossible to accuse Mr.Wadia of any offence and prove it. They are like piercing with a knife from the back. Sir Benjamin Robertson is adorned with arbitrary enactments and powers such as the Indian Penal Code, the Press Act, the Defence of India Act, the power to intern persons. Not resting satisfied with them, he tries to injure the honour of those who are devoted to their country by passing ex parte decrees. This does not show his magnanimity.

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232. The Madras Government and Mr.B.P. Wadia.

(Dated 6th February, 1917, Page 348, Para 60.)

Referring to the notice issued by the Madras Government to Mr.B.P.Wadia, calling upon him not to deliver in Madras the speech which he delivered at Amraoti, and to papers like the Hindu not to publish it, the Keralodayam, of the 6th February, points out, that the issuing of similar notices will not only curtail the freedom of the press, but will aslo render the Government officials unable to attend to more serious matters, and observes that Mr.Wadia, who has

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~~has~~ created so much sensation, must be a clever man indeed.

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233. Mr.Wadoa's speech at Amroati.

(Dated 6th February, 1917, Page 348, Para 61.)

The Andhrapatrika, of the 6th February, says:--

Sir Benjamin Robertson has pronounced Mr.Wadia's speech at Amroati to be seditious. As the Government of Madras has declared it unlawful to publish the speech, the public are not in a position to sit in judgment upon it. It is not known why the authorities in the Central Provinces have not instituted criminal proceedings against ~~Mr.Wia~~ Mr.Wadia, if he had preached sedition.

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234. National egoism.

(Dated 28th January, 1917, Page 356, Para 82.)

In an article under this heading the Desabhimani, of the 28th January observes:--

Our spiritual ideals have contracted on account of the glamour of western civilisation. Changes have come into our ideals of life and our nation has declined; but the seeds of ancient civilisation have not altogether died out. Even in these days do we see incarnations of Rishis like Gandi, and Yogins like Ghokale; but our miserable condition had not been ameliorated.

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The people in the west have turned a deaf year to the teachings of Christ. Equanimity has given place to egoism. The Germans insist upon exercising sway over the whole world..........and German egoism spreads over the Western countries, more or less. Our ideals, and those of our western rulers differ. Our temper is sattvika (amiable and genial), while theirs is rajasika (passionate.) We must obtain our deliverance from this clash.....and our agitation is constitutional and devoid of violance, which is to be condemned.........In carrying on constitutional agitation we should avoid over-softness, and straight and fearlessly express our aspirations. Hindus are passive and while they suffer at heart appear cheerful. Though this is in keeping with traditions of their Rishis, it will not do for actual life in this world.... On account of this the westerners look upon them as weak and uncivilised............The westerners in similar circumstances, never put up with suffering, but will strive hard to make their voice heard. They convene meetings, fill columns in papers, and incite people to rise. The agitation carried on by the congress leaders and that led by Mrs. Annie Besant illustrates the difference between these two methods. The egoism is prominent in every agitation carried on by the westerners and the Indians must also cultivate national egoism. Bengalees have been trying to do so, and the ~~Madras,xxx~~ Andras must also follow them and agitate for the Andhra movement.

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235. The Home Rule question.

(Dated 2nd February, 1917, Page 357, Para 85.)

The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 2nd February, writes:--

Mrs. Besant has written a book on "How India wrought for freedom". Every reader of the book is praising the immense service she has thereby rendered to the country. Would it do to allow another to be master of one's wife anf children? If a person allows another to rule over his household would he take the same interest as himself? Is there any nation on earth among whom strangers are allowed to sway over one's household? Would any one consent to such sway? If a person would not agree to surrender his patriarchal rights, would he be ready to give up national rights? If a person would not surrender his national rights, what would he say to the surrender of imperial rights? Would British interests be protected under German sovereignty in the same manner as they are being protected when the British are ruling their own country? These are the type of questions which some people are in the habit of raising. They raise them in order to point out that a family's, community's or nations' interests are best protected by the very individuals that belong to these units. Who can contend that this is not reasonable? Who can say that one may become the husband of another's wife? The mastership of one's community or nation, like the mastership of one's own household, implies the ability to hold it. Those who have virility in them are masters of their household. Those who are proficient in political economy and political science are themselves the masters of their nation. It is commonly said that liberty is a veritable paradise.

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Those who are keen upon it can get it by constitutional means. If their liberty is at stake, they would even fight for it till they win or die. Those nations which have this love of liberty have attained great political eminence. The rest have become slaves. This is what we actually see. The task before a ruler or a Government is a most difficult one. From the moment a Government receives a sixth of the income of the people, it becomes responsible for the protection and well-being of its subjects. Only they are rulers who fulfil this responsibility. They are then fit to be adored and worshipped and the people may lay down their lives in their service. Those who have studied political science say that a Government or a Ruler is hardly worth any respect or adoration, if after taking a sixth of the people's income the Government or the Ruler takes more than what is fair for the higher branches of the administration, and pays less than what is reasonable to the petty officers, and thus constrains the latter to oppress the people and rob them in order to augment their income and condemns those that thus rob the people and sends them to jail when the corruption is proved. There is truth in what they say. That is why politicians say that the position of rulers is a most unenviable one. A Ruler must be like Vikramarka whose name is still cherished through the era named after him, because he denied himself every pleasure, had habits simpler than a peasant's and considered that his highest happiness consisted in the wellbeing of his subjects and was ever a servant of the people. We are fortunately happy in His Highness-our present Maharaja who is ever bent on increasing the happiness of the people and thus win for himself the glory of a Vikramarka. We pray that his efforts may be fruitful and the same measure of glory be his.

236. **Home Rule Fund.**

(Dated 6th February, 1917, Page 358, Para 86.)

In a leading article, in English, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 6th Febr ary, writes:--"The material and moral salvation of India lies in self-government within the British Empire. We should have a Parliament of our own. We should have a House of Commons. The Chiefs of all Native States should constitute the House of Lords. The Viceroy should be the final authority in the Empire. The resolution of both the Houses of Parliament should be enforced only when it is approved of by the Viceroy with the sanction of the British Cabinet. It is this kind of self-government that will satisfy us at present. ~~It is this kind~~ of self-government that will satisfy us at present. It is the highest of disgrace that after 316 years of British connection with India, the Indians should be thought unfit for self-government. It is a downright mistake to think so. We are as good as the British people themselves for Home Rule. We are better than the Colonists in the matter. From time immemorial, we had self governments among us. A country devoid of self-government or Home Rule is really a bottomless perdition. Even the Satan of Milton observed that it was better to reign in hell than serve in heaven. It is better to be Sanyasis of the stamp of Desikendra in an empire where freedom reigns, than to be King of Kings in an Empire what it is today, the fatherland of righteous liberty. We are bound to have such liberty under the British Government. There may be among the Anglo-Indians here and there a number of despots who wish to hold us in perpetual slavery. But their dreams are doomed to disappointment. It is our duty to see that they are disappointed. A Home Rule fund ought to be founded.

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Mr.Bhavana Char has suggested the establishment of this fund. He says that he contributes Rs-100 to form a nucleus of this fund. We thank him for it. If all patriotic men in India contribute any fraction or multiple of this sum for the fund, the fund is bound to become a colossal sum of money. Such a colossal sum of money will yield an interest sufficient to pay hundreds of thousands of Home Rule missionaries and Home Rule newspapers to march from one end of India to another, with the Home Rule flag or with a fary Cross of Home Rule. We hope every Indian, rich and poor, man and woman, boy and girl, old and young, will respond to this patriotic call and make the Homr Rule fund an accomplished fact. The Supreme interests of India and England are indissolubly bound up and we hope that the British people will see that it is only the extension of the Home Rule that can cement the bond of union and that it is the denial of Home Rule that will cut asunder the bond. We pray to God the Almighty to enable the British people to open their eyes wide and to see wherein lies the elements of stability and permanence of the British Empire.

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337. **The Government of Madras and Mr.B.P.Wadia.**

(Dated 10th February, 1917, Page 388, Para 15.)

New India, of the 10th February, has the following:--

"Very Doubtful News.

"A rumour is running round the town that the late prohibition of Mr.B.P.Wadia's lecture was due to a telegram from Sir Benjamin Robertson imploring His Excellency the Governor of Madras to prevent its delivery. We can understand Sir Benjamin's anxiety to prevent the public from judging the innocent lecture he condemned, but we decline to believe that the Governor of Madras would do anything but resent such an unwarrantable interference in his Province by an official of an inferior grade."

Writing on this subject, the West Coast Spectator, of the 13th February, says:--

It is rumoured that the Madras Government prohibited Mr.Wadia's now famous lecture on the representations made by the Central Provinces Government. New India is angry with Lord Pentland for obliging the latter, and according, to our contemporary the Local Government ought to have promptly refused to hear Sir Benjamin Robertson. We still hold that the Central Provinces Government were not justified in the language they had used towards Mr.Wadia. But we cannot find fault with the Madras Government for obliging Sir Benjamin Robertson, for, it would be very awkward were two administrations to pull in opposite directions. It is still open to Mr.Wadia to proceed against Sir Benjamin for libel.

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238. Sir Benjamin Robertson and the Provincial Conference in the Central Provinces.

(Dated 27th January, 1917, Page 404, Para 45.)

Referring to the way in which Sir Benjamin Robertson received the representatives of the Provincial Conference in the Central Provinces, the Swadesamitran, of the 27th January, says:--

6 Though it was fitting that he consented to receive these representatives and to reply in detail to the resolutions of the Conference, it is surprising that he should have given vent to his rage against Mrs.Besant in words expressive of objectionable ideas. He said that the prohibition of Mrs.Besant was not in connection with this Conference, but in consideration of a different political event that was to have taken place. All the Indian papers have already pointed out how this is an inconsistent explanation. That he should seek support for an untenable order in the event that took place in consequence of it, will not satisfy the public. However this may be, we will humbly tell Sir Benjamin Robertson that it was not worthy of his position and authority to have condemned the speech of Mrs.Besant's representative in such harsh language. What he said about the new spirit that has sprung up in the country was after the manner of the Viceroy and shows the suspicion and unwillingness of the authorities in this matter.

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239. Wadia's reply to the Chief Commission of the Central Provinces.

(Dated 29th January, 1917, Page 404, Para 46.)

In a summary of this reply published by the Swadesamitran, of the 29th January, it says:--

It should be noted that Mr.Wadia intends to print and publish the speeches delivered by him at Amraoti to serve as a test case and he is prepared to see whether the Government of India will prevent the publication. He also says that action might have been taken against him, if the speeches contained disloyal sentiments, that though the proclamations and assurances of our rulers have not been fulfilled, his faith in the British people will not be shaken, that he has no confidence in the Anglo-Indian authorities in India, and that it is his determination to rouse political activity in this country without causing bloodshed.

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240. Indian Princes and Home Rule.

(Dated 15th January, 1918, Page 443, Para 11.)

The following appears in the West Coast Spectator, of the 15th February:--"One more myth in connection with Native Rulers has been exploded. We are constantly told by our Anglo-Indian friends that Their Highnesses are stoutly opposed to the advent of a self-governing India, that they have absolutely no sympathy for the Indian 'agitator.' The Maharaja of Alwar has given an effective and forcible reply to these critics.......Had any 'agitator' spoken in such strain the Jingo press would have come out with its anathemas and denounced him as a visionary idealist. Indian rulers are conservative, supposed to look down on the educated classes and firmly convinced of the infallibility and excellency of benevolent despotism, but the fact that the Maharaja of Alwar has spoken in such strain clearly indicates that things are moving rather rapidly in India. There is more self-government in some of our Native States than in the whole of India put together."

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241. Prohibition of Mr.B.P.Wadia's lecture on "Home Rule".

(Dated 3rd February, 1917, Page 461, Para 64.)

The swadesamitran, of the 3rd February, has a leading article on the prohibition of this lecture which was to have been delivered in the Young Men Indian Association buildings on the 2nd idem, in the course of which it observes:--

We regret that the extraordinary measures taken by the Madras Government to carry out its resolve of prohibiting this lecture were directed in a very trivial affair. Orders of prohibition were issued to Mr.Wadia in the first instance against repeating the lecture which he delivered at Amraoti, or being connected with its being delivered, and, in the second instance, to all the newspapers in Madras against the lecture being published. We cannot understand the reason for the issue of these orders. It would seem that the Government in its haste failed to notice the discrepancy between these two orders. When Mr.Wadia's lecture was prohibited, how could it be published by the papers, or how could the Government come to know that they would publish it? Moreover, the Government adopted other means as well to prevent the possibility of the lecture coming off in transgression of its orders and its authority. Mrs.Besant was prohibited from presiding or being present at the lecture and ordered to lock up the hall where the lecture was to have come off. Deeming all this insufficient, the Commissioner of Police, Madras, announced that he was prepared to stop any political lecture which might be delivered in any public place in the whole of Madras on that day. Police

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arrangements were also vigorously made to prevent any transgression of the orders. Under these circumstances, we are at a loss to know how the Government could find out that the papers would publish the lecture.

Our morning contemporary, the Madras Times, says that though the orders issued by the Government were all hasty and faulty in meaning, they are only proper. But some days ago that paper wrote that it did not seem to it to be proper that Mr. Wadia should repeat the lecture in Madras, but that the right thing for him to do was to print and publish it in order to justify his action. How can it be therefore consistent to say that, because the Government has hastily sought to employ a harsh measure, that alone is right. That, instead of ascertaining the nature of the lecture or giving a warning that it should be free from sedition, and taking proceedings in a conciliatory spirit, the Government of Madras should thus employ the Defence of India Act freely wherever it pleased, betrays the unfounded apprehensions and needless suspicions entertained by it. We will humbly point out that if the Government should more more freely with the people and their leaders in carrying on the administration, such untoward events and unnecessary excitement will greatly diminish.

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242. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 21st February, 1918, Page 481, Para 108.)

The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 21st February, writes:--

Under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association, numerous speeches were made on the subject of postwar reforms. Lord Islington has said that India should be allowed a share in the affairs of the Empire in recognition of her services in the present war. But what share it is to be he has not made clear. Lord Sydenham and a few other Englishmen have said that the British love India too dearly to grant her Home Rule. If we do not follow the example of the British for obtaining our rights and liberties, even after thousands of years of loyal servitude, there will be people to tell us that we should never be liberated from it. As Lords Islington has observed, every Indian should be bent upon sharing the responsibilities of the administration of his country after the close of the war. Those who wish to be autocratic are wont to proclaim that our masses are unfit for Home Rule. These would do well to see how ably they fight for their rights in the Mysore Legislative Council and in the meetings of the Economic Conference. The quality of safeguarding his right is inherent in the Indian and he is in no way inferior to the Westerner in this respect. If at all, diffident men might be found among the educated among us, but our masses are mostly men who know how to fight for their rights, India will be sure to have Home Rule eventually.

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243. New India and the Commonweal.

(Dated 25th February, 1917, Page 511, Para 12.)

The following appears in the Non-Brahman, for the week ending 25th February:--"Mrs.Besant has at last learnt a lesson, and what is the most tragic side of it, she has had to learn from the bureaucrats. The Central Provinces Government have prohibited students entering politics, but New India has no thundering article. What a pity!. New India ought to have had a violent article, because if students have even been spoiled anywhere it is in Madras. And she knows it, and ~~anticipating~~ anticipating any such action in Madras, she ought to have emitted poison. It goes without a comment. Why? Mr.Pelly holds the reins and New India press is at stake.........Close behind Mr.Tilak's prohibition from the Punjab comes the news that Mr.Bepin Chandra Pal, an honoured contributor to New India and the Commonweal, is also prohibited. Even this national calamity is passed in silence. Mr.Pelly holds the reins and Sir Alexander Cardew keeps watch."

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244. <u>The exclusion orders against Mrs. Besant.</u>

(Dated 2nd March, 1917, Page 520, Para 26.)

In an article on this subject, the Hindu, of the 2nd March, says:--"It was an amazing pronouncement that Sir Reginald Craddock made to the searching and well-conceived interpellation of the Hon'ble Mr. Chanda in regard to the prohibitory orders of the Bombay and the Central Provinces Governments against Mrs. Besant under the Defence of India Act. It is now admitted that the orders in question were passed in consultation with and on the approval of the Government of India......we do not know how His Excellency has come to the conclusion that the provisions of the Indian Defence Act can be justly applied to Mrs. Besant to prevent her from entering two Provinces because some of her writings and speeches may have been couched in a form which is not acceptable to the tender susceptibilities of the bureaucratic machinery in India-......The Defence of India Act gives power to the Executive Government to take drastic action against an individual in the interests of public safety, and for military purposes. It gives power to condemn without affording opportunity for defence. There is no remedy provided against the misuse or perversion of the dangerous weapons which it puts into the hands of the Executive.......The attempted justification by Sir Reginald Craddock of the orders passed against Mrs. Besant, and the refusal by the Government to withdraw the same, show that the personal liberties of recognised political leaders in this country are of a very precarious character."

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245. Mrs. Annie Besant.

(Dated 25th February, 1917, Page 554, Para 100.)

The Desabhimani, of the 25th February, has the following on Mrs.Annie Besant:--Ever since she began to take part in political reform, it has assumed a new form, and gatherrd strength. The nationalists and the conventionists have both been converted to Home Rulers. The trumpet call of Home Rule is heard all over the country. Among the English, who had known nothing of the National Congress a curiosity is roused to know about Home Rule (In India). The message of Indian Home Rule is heard in all the civilised countries. The reason for all this is the mighty effort and self-sacrifice of Mrs.Besant. Her perseverance is unmatched. It is no exaggeration to say that Mr.Tilak and Mrs.Besant have captured the National Congress. May her life be an example to the Andhra leaders.

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246. Mrs.Besant and Sir P.A.Sivaswami Ayyar.

(Dated 4th March, 1917, Page 595, Para 25.)

The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 4th March, remarks:--"Mrs.Annie Besant has surpassed herself in her feats of contradiction. It was she that described Sir P.S.Sivaswami Ayyar as an Indian with an Anglo-Indian heart--but last week it poured upon him two columns of praise conceived in the best strain of Besantine oratory. And why? Here is the explanation: 'When the Council wished to take renewed action against the editor of this journal (New India) he threatened to resign if further injustice was done, and thus protected her'. And Mrs.Besant is grateful. Now if this is true, we ask, we appeal to Lord Pentland to take the earliest opportunity to repeat this. That would be the greatest return for Sir Ayyar's work, for which he might exchange his titles and power and pelf. Lord Minto described Sir S.P.Sinha's resignation, Will Lord Pentland also describe Sir P.S.Sivaswami Ayyar's threatened resignation?"

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247. New India and Sir Alexander Cardew.

(Dated 4th March, 1917, Page 596, Para 28.)

The following appears in the Non-Brahman, for the week ending 4th March:--

~~Mrs. Besant~~ "Mrs. Annie Besant claims to have brought to India the tradition of British journalism. To us Sir Alexander Cardew, the senior member of Government, represents authority, and he is known to be a very capable officer. Commenting upon Sir Alexander's speech on social service, New India writes:--'This kind of impertinence is hardly likely to encourage Indian workers'- This is great courage indeed. We hope when we attack the Government, we will be treated as lightly as New India, although we have not behind us men like Mr. C.P. Ramaswami Ayyar, Diwan Bahadur Govindaraghava Ayyar, the Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hussain and the whole of the political workers. How long we ask, is the Government to tolerate this impertinence? We are accustomed to respect authority; we are being led to think it patriotism to abuse Government officials".

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248. Political agitation in the Madras Presidency.

(Dated 6th March, 1917, Page 600 Para 33.)

In a leader under the heading "Smoking in a Powder Magazine" Justice, of the 6th March, writes:---

"In the troublesome days of the closing years of the last century when India was unsettled with sedition trials and repressive legislation, General Collen, who was then the Military Member of the Viceroy's Council, said in the Imperial Legislative Council that he was not going to permit smkoking in a powder magazine. The genial representative of Madras, the late Mr. Ananda Charlu, protested against that statement, and said that he had a perfect right to smoke anywhere, even in a powder magazine, and that they could only object to his throwing the cigar end into the powder barrel. General Collen's retort was splendid. He said, 'I do not object to my honourable friend Mr. Anda Charlu smoking in my powder magazine for he smokes those delightful South Indian cigars which emit no sparks. It is this idea that the South Indian cigars emit no sparks and could be safely permitted to be smoked even inside a powder magazine that has been the reason of Southern India being gradually converted into an asylum for political extremists. We see province after province publishing notifications to prevent certain political undesirables from entering their jurisdiction. But South India welcomes them all. We are afraid that the South Indian cigars have somewhat changed their quality, and at present some of them emit dangerous sparks, and the experiment of permitting them to be smoked in a powder magazine may not be without its danger. ....We wish to ask the Madras Government whether they still placidly contemplate the safety of allowing smoking in a powder magazine.......

It has become customary for Indian politicians to declaim about popular liberty and the injustice of its suppression. We should like to quote a passage or two from a speech delivered by Mrs.Besant at Adyar in 1908. 'Some of them talk about liberty', said Mrs.Besant, 'as though they were the only nation where complete liberty is not found and forget that even in England there are still oppressive laws and that the abolition of several such laws is very recent. India cannot certainly jump into a liberty that other nations took centuries to build. It is already enjoying more freedom than exists in most European countries. I wish I could take some of these lads through Europe. In Austria they cannot hold a single meeting of Austrians themselves without the permission of the police. Even the Free Masons, a most harmless and orderly body, are obliged to go beyond the frontiers, of Austria into another country before they can hold a single meeting. In Hungary we could not form our theosophical society until we went to the Home Minister to secure his permission. There are in many respects the same difficulties in Germany and France In France a few years ago, I do not know if the law be now different, you could not form a group of more than 20 people. A meeting in a private house may be broken up by the police. Now, young men ought to know all these things before they complain of oppression. Hotel-keepers on the continent have to report to the police every one who goes to their houses. Often the traveller has to wirte down various particulars about himself for the police. Think how you would resent such a treatment and you will begin to realise that it is the breath of exceptional English liberty which is in your lungs that makes you intolerant of oppression. It is all Videshi.' Out of the fulness of her experience Mrs.Besant has depicted in these passages to the young men of India the extent of liberty that is enjoyed by the various contimental nations in Europe. The speech was

delivered nine years ago, but things had not changed very mush in Europe till the beginning of t e war. We do not believe that the continental nations thus restricted the liberties of their subjects merely for the pleasure of doing so. They have experienced difficulties in controlling unhealthy popular movements at times, and it is the duty of wise statesmanship to take precautionary measures ~~enjoyed xamxamountxof~~ to prevent political disasters...... The English people have for centuries enjoyed an amount of personal and political liberty far exceeding that of any other nation in the world and because they have enjoyed personal and political liberty for such a long time that they know how to use it. But when personal and political liberty of a very high order which Mrs.Besant herself describes as Videshi is given to a people who have never enjoyed such liberties before to the same extent, as evidenced by what obtains in many of the Native States, they are likely to abuse it.

"To some extent we are afraid that the process of abuse of personal and political liberty is going on in India. It is, therefore, the duty of the Government in this country to check such abuses and contral and direct the use of such liberty into proper and healthy channels. When protest meetings are held to denounce the action of some Local Government or other about some notification preventing certain politicians from entering their jurisdiction, the protesters forget the responsibility that rests with the Government to enforce law and to preserve order in a time of stress and storm like the present. Most of the Local Governments in India seem to be alive to their duties in this respect. If it is out of political expediency that the Madras Government are so slow in taking precautionary measures against possible political dangers, we may tell them that it is useless for them to follow this

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method of political diplomacy. They can never be popular with the advanced politicians in this Presidency. They could, therefore, just as well do their duty and safeguard the interests of the Province under their jurisdiction instead of trying to win popularity from the presumably political irreconcilables. We just venture to throw out this warning. The Government ought not to require any warning at all. But in spite of the warning, if undesirable consequences follow, the responsibility will rest with the Madras Government."

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249. Meeting of the Home Rule League at Tiruvadi.

(Dated 13th February, 1917, Page 621, Para 81.)

The Swadesamitran, of the 13 February, publishes a report of a public meeting held at Tiruvadi under the auspices of the Home Rule League, at which Mr.Kamath, in the course of his speech, is said to have observed that in view of certain internal changes that are bound to take place in the administration of India when the war shall be ended with victory to England, it is necessary that the people should endeavour even now for Home Rule so that they may be fit for such changes. In giving a summary of this speech in Tamil, Mr.Suryanarayana Ayyar suggested that students should take a very keen interest in contributing to the public good.

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250. Orders against Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 2nd March, 1917, Page 633, Para 116.)

The Andrapatrika, of the 2nd March, says with reference to the questions put in the Imperial Legislative Council anent the orders prohibiting Mrs.Besant from entering the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces:--

The Government said that in their opinion the trend of her speeches and wirtings was exciting. The only reason why they do not like this trend is that they are in possession of powers which they can exercise as they please. When independent criticism is not to the taste of the all-powerful rulers, there can be room only for flatterers. It will be seen from this to what a sad state the freedom of press and of speech has come.

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251. The Press Deputation.

(Dated 11th March, 1917, Page 678, Para 26.)

In an article under the heading attacking the Government", the Non-Brahman, for the week ending 11th March, observes:--"No hour of her chequered life would have been more glorious to Mrs.Besant than last Tuesday when Mr.Wadia must have handed over to her the associated press message on the Press Deputation to His Excellency the Viceroy. The highest submit of her martyrdom was reached, of course, when one half or more of an important Viceregal pronouncement was devoted to Mrs.Besant and her writings............ We have our own doubts whether Lord Chelmsford need have been

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so vehement in his reply; we are positively of opinion that His Excellency need not have imitated the editor of the Civil and Military Gazatte in criticising the High Court in the catch v.catch style of the Indian wrestler. .....Mrs.Besant has had her crown of glory in a half column reference, all to her herself, by the Representative of His Majesty in India. But what of the country? If ever there was any prospect of the Press Act being repealed that prospect is no more. And to whom do we owe it? To this Avatar of Indian Liberty, this wonderful woman who has been praising us, flattering us, but have stolen from us the heart of our Government. The echoes that were awakened in the Viceregal Chamber last Tuesday were the echoes that were awakened in the Madras High Court during New India case. Who can say that Mrs.Besant has not roused a strong feeling of hatred against the bureaucracy by her writings. The Press Act that has permitted her to go on with her work must be too mild indeed. The British spirit in Indian administration was never better displayed by bureaucrats than when they allowed this wealthy woman to seduce young India. Under any oriental Government she would have been very summarily disposed of......Perpetual abuse of Government in the manner that New India has been doing must sour any mind. The mind of the Government is weaned from us. Mrs.Besant abuses the Government, and tied to her petticoat are the leaders, as newspapers call them, of Indian opinion. Hark, it is the whistle of Mrs.Besant, and Diwan Bahadur Govindaraghava Ayyar Mr.Srinivasa Sastri, Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar, ~~Mr.Srinivasaxxx~~ Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai, Rao Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, every one of the blessed gang is answering her call. Every newspaper of importance in India, conducted by Indians, with the exception of the Indian Patriot and Justice, reflect her opinion.........Political terrorism is rampant. To express one's conviction against Home Rule is to pronounce oneself a

conviction against Home Rule is to pronounce oneself a traitor to the country. Ninety out of a hundred in India know not what is Home Rule or selfggovernment; and seven out of the ten are indifferent. Of the three, two are content to whisper against violence, and only one raises his voice. But it is this voice that is heard like that of the frog in the tank. This incessant croaking is a nuisance. It has strung the nerves of the officials and the Viceroy. While the Britisher is wholeheartedly devoting his attention to the war, the frog persists in croaking. The result? Our Government is disgusted, and when it speaks out, as when Lord Chelmsford spoke out last week, we find, to our intense pain and sorrow, that slowly the Government is weaned from the people. We are greatly concerned at this. 'You come and ask for the repeal of the Act? You write as New India writes. You see that the press of India is always liable to err. And yet you would end the Press Act? You may go.' That is the Viceregal treatment to the valiant journalists who set out on a deputation with Mrs. Besant's blessings.

"Mrs.Besant can be proud of the part of the part she has played in the building up of New India. She has permanently placed the Press Act in the statute book. A single quotation from her article is enough to make the head of any Indian patriot hang down. Save us from helpers like Mrs. Besant. We pray she will devote herself to Alcyone and Leadbeater and leave politics alone. We cannot afford to have the heart of the Government set against us. She can to-morrow go to Australia or New Zealand. The hand of the theosophist is stretched out to her in abject prayer even from the North Pole. But we must get on with the British officers. We stand to lose, not to gain, by making the Government look askance at us. We are not disloyal. We aspire to be in our country what the Japanese are in Japan

or the Englishman is in England. But we must go slowly, we have been going on slowly and steadily. We have asked but not got all what we want, and we ask again. There is hope in us, and there is cheerfulness in the face of the giver. But Mrs.Besant has suddenly dispelled this cheerfulness from the face of the giver. Our Government suspectxx us as a nuisance. That is the meaning of the Viceroy's speech. We shudder to think what this may lead to. We shudder to think what this may lead to. We appeal to our responsible leaders to leave Mrs.Besant alone and pursue their old paths of sobber criticism and dignified protest against the Government."

United India and Native States, for the week ending 15th March, remakks:--

"His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the request of the press deputation for the withdrawal or a modification of the Press Act was extremely unsatisfactory and unconvincing. His Excellency seemed to think that the present time was hardly opportune for raising a matter so important as this.......While the Indian public will with one voice support the authorities in their measures to crush the few inculcators of sedition and violence they fail to see the need for the continued existence on the statute book of an enactment constituting a slur on the Indian press and implying a certain degree of distrust of the Indian people, the bulk of whom are acknowledged on all hands to be as loyal and devoted to the empire as Englishmen themselves. We agree with a northern India contemporary when it remarks that His Excellency's reply is a veritable message of despair to an expectant public. It is very unfortunate that Lord Chelmsford should not have allayed public uneasiness over the unequal administration of the Press Act. This is all the more unfortunate as the enthusiasm of the Indians have been profoundly stirred and

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kindled by the generous policy of trust in the people underlying the decision of the authorities to utilise the manhood of the Indian people for the defence of India."

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252. India and Home Rule.

(Dated 12th March, 1917, Page 726, Para 127.)

In an article giving a summary of an article contributed to the Madras Mail by Mr.Nayana Sastri, a first grade pleader of Ongole, explaining why India will be unfit for Home Rule for a century more, the Sampad Abhudaya, of the 12th March, writes:--It is true that the defects which he has pointed out are to be found among a section of the people. But there is a still larger section of them free from these shortcomings. Patriotism and conscientiousness are visible among the people in a markedly increasing degree. The cry of Home Rule from tens of millions is itself a proof of this. And is not Home rule itself a remedy for those shortcomings? Besides, are not those shortcomings to be found among people even after having had Home Rule for two thousand years? Have not the British had these same shortcomings a hundredfold when they got Home Rule themselves? When these facts are considered, it is naturally surmised that Mr.Nayana Sastri wrote this article only to curry favour with somebody. Let that pass. Even granting that his arguments are correct, we must observe that nothing can be more conducive to the removal of these defects than Home Rule.

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253. India political outlook.

(Dated 20th March, 1917, Page,757, Para 16.)

The West Coast Spectator, of the 20th March, observes:--

"Dr.T.M.Nayar's speech on the Home Rule movement is the sensible utterance of a practical politician whose head is not turned by the cult of the Mahatma or the beauties of Utopia. It is refreshing to find that Indian public life is not altogether barren of leaders who can express what they feel in spite of the noisy mob who expect all and sundry to shout with it and to swallow the gilded ginger bread so alluringly dangled before the Indian's vision by impatient idealists. We do not agree with all that Dr.Nayar has said, especially as regards the famous non-official memorandum, but are in entire agreement with him when he says that Home Rule for India at this juncture can only spell ruin and disaster......We tremble to think what the result would be were Englishmen in India to embark to-morrow at Ballard Pier in obedience to an order in Council, handing over the Government of the country to our Home Rule friends. Rejuvenesced Ernad Moplas will, no doubt, garland each other in celebration of the event in the Tukidi cutcherry compound and hold a Canachio's banquet in the local mosque (or temple?) to the accompaniment of muttu and 'vili', but the next day we may expect a raid on the Palghat agraharams, ending in a carnival of rape and rapine.

"We are denounced as traitors and sycophants because we cannot reconcile ourselves to the Home Rule cult and dance to the tune of Adyar or Kandankulam........We, the children of the soil wherein we have a stake, can be expected to have greater regard for it than any foreign adventurer or

indigent patriot who hangs on him. We honestly feel that the time has not come for complete autonomy; we are, however, open to argument and correction, and the Home Ruler must therefore embark on an educative propaganda and convince us of our ability to rule ourselves, and that the interests of the minority or the voiceless will not suffer in the hands of the majority or the noisy."

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254. New India security case.

(Dated 24th March, 1917, Para 3.)

The Malabar Herald, for the week ending 24th March, has the following:--

"Mrs.Besant has been discomforted in her recent attempt to get permission from the Madras High Court to lodge an appeal in the Privy Council against its judgment dismissing her appeal against the order of Government forfeiting Rs.2,000 deposited as security by her as Printer and Publisher of the New India Printing Works. An application made by her vakil before the Madras High Court for permission to appeal against their judgment has been rejected. When the case was finally disposed of against her it was fondly hoped by Mrs.Besant and her admirers that the High Court judgment would be smashed by an appeal to the Privy Council. This hope has now been shattered to pieces and the refusal of permission would, we think, serve as a sufficient warning against the repetition of what led to the forfeiture of the deposit."

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255. The Home Rule Millenium.

(Dated 22nd March, 1917, Page 856, Para 13.)

The following appears in United India and Native States for the week ending 22nd March:--"The Rev.J.Lazarus, D.D., contributes a thoughtful article to the Indian Review with reference to the demand for Home Rule, and the article is significant of the new forces at work among the Indian Christians in spite of the advice tendered to them by interested ~~to them by interested~~ critics that Indian Christians must keep themselves aloof from politics........We have nothing but profound respect for such a respected member of the Indian Christian community, but even he, it seems to us, has failed to realise the full significance of his ardent advocacy of Home Rule which represents a dim and distant and desirable ideal but which for some years at any rate must remain outside the sphere of practical politics. Has Dr,Lazarus spent a thought on the probable position that would be assigned to the members of his own community, to the Muhammadans, to the non-Brahman population as well as to the Panchamas under his scheme of a self-governing India with a small caste undoubtedly dominating the situation. Much as we desire to cling to the ideal of a self-governing India as the goal to be striven after and kept in view we must recognise the many difficulties to be faced before so desirable an ideal can be realised. We would also demur to Dr.Lazarus' enthusiastic idealism which alone could have enabled him to say that Indian patriots could administrer public trusts much better and far more successfully than foreigners. We rather prefer to think that the truth is the other way and that there is no evidence of the superiority of Indians to Englishmen in

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administrative talents and statesmanlike attributes Indians are still in the probationaryy period and it is a case of putting the cart before the horse to say that the pupil bids fair to excel the master before the probationary period has run its course. The fact of the matter is that for sometime to come, at all events, the guidance, sympathy and the advice of the Britishers is indispensable to Indians in the administration of the country, and it is short-sighted patriotism which would lead any thoughtful Indian to declare, as Dr.Lazarus has done, that Indians who have not set their own house in order and who are inexcusably slow in getting rid of certain social usages which threaten to arrest the development of society on healthy lines, can administer their country's affairs much better and far more successfully than foreigners...... Dr.Lazarus, like Mrs.Besant, tries to belittle the significance of the non-Brahman movement and says that the charge brought by non-Brahmans against Brahmanas that they monopolise the highest offices is untenable. Perhaps he has forgotten that when Sir Sivaswami Ayyar recently retired from the Indian Councillorship every one of the appointments made in consequence was conferred on Brahmans...........Dr.Lazarus in his perfervid imagination exclaims that Home Rule in India will take up universal primary education as one of its first reforms, and that as soon as Indians have Home Rule many a Toda Mall will arise and regulate the finances of this huge empire'. Until that happy day dawns, we suppose Indians will have to be content with Finance Ministers of the type of Sir William Meyer. We admire Dr.Lazarus' cheery optimism although it seems to us that he takes little account of the difficulties to be encountered and the dangers to be faced by the practical statesman who is anxious to promote the orderly development of India."

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256. Home Rulers and the Indian War Loan.

(Dated 22nd March, 1917, Page 856, Para 14.)

The West Coast Spectator, of the 22nd March, has the following:--

"Speaking the other day on post-war problems at Madras, the high priestess of the Home Rule cult, declared that India claimed 'partnership of the empire'--a statement that must have extorted frenzied outbursts of cheering from her enthusiastic followers. We are afraid that a certain type of Home Ruler forgets that there can be no partnership without a contribution to the capital of the business. The War Loan meeting held in Calicut on Monday last was attended by only five Home Rulers, which leads one to conclude that the Home Ruler wants partnership with out putting in a pie into the capital. Let us, however, hope that the local Home Rule League will make amends by putting in, say, ten lakhs into the loan."

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257. Mrs.Besant and the Indian War Loan.

(Dated 25th March, 1917, Page 857, Para 15.)

The following appears in the Non-Brahman, for the week ending 25th March:--

"Mrs.Besant surpassed herself when she thought the War Loan, on which the mind of India is set or ought to be set, a fit topic to crack a joke. On the eve of the great public meeting at which His Excellency the Governor presided and the true leaders of the people like Mr.Thyagaraya Chettiyar and the Raja of Bobbili were to speak, she snaps her womanly finger and says to the obsequeous crowds that follow her: 'Look here--the Government wants a lona- the Government that prosecuted me. Here, I shall give as a loan the money they have taken from me as security to my press.' Is this the spirit of a patriot to the War Loan?"

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258. <u>Indiaŝs political outlook.</u>

(Dated 23rd March, 1917, Page 857, Para 16.)

The West Coast Reformer, of the 23rd March, remarks:--

"It was ~~Nayxxxx~~ only to be expected, of course, that Dr.T.M.Nayar's characteristically outspoken observations on Home Hule for India and kindred topics would bring down vials of wrath upon his devoted head from certain very particular quarters, but Dr.Nayar is hardly the man who is likely to lose his appetite because of the wapourings of politicians, professional and amateur, who would have the would believe that the three hundred and odd millions of India are shouting for Home Rule, of the immediate and complete variety. Just prior to Dr.Nayar's lecture, another thoughtful malayalee, the Raja of Kollengode, pretty plainly hinted that he was not captivated by the political prospect, delineated in the Memorandum of the now celebrated 19, while immediately after Dr.Nayar's ~~devxxx~~ delivery of his own views on the Indian political situation we have the Zamindar of Kurupam publicly dissociating himself, so to speak from the Home Rule movement--we mean, of course, the movement, for which a certain school of political faddists and fanatics are responsible. These three leading gentlemen do not by any means stand by themselves on the platform, from which they have just addressed their country. Their views and sentiments are those of great numbers of educated and thoughtful Indians, who fully realise that the progress of India towards anything like complete autonomy must still be laborious and deliberate and that it would be fatal to the best interests of this country to artifically force the pace."

The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 21st March, observes:-- "Dr.T.M.Nayar has come in for a great deal of criticism, complimentary and otherwise, for his recent lecture on our political outlook, which by the way was a long time in coming. The keynote of the lecture was that in understanding our political outlook we should study our immediate past. It is a significant observation and we would commend it to the earnest consideration of friends who are impatient at the slow pace at which we are moving politically. It is somewhat curious that the political fire-brand in India never loses an opportunity of counselling the social reformer to build his social fabric with due reverence to the past. But he forgets the lesson which he would fain teach the social reformer, in his attempts to raise a grand political superstructure for his country..........Dr.Nayar whose patriotism is not a whit less than that of any political leader in India is only anxious that his countrymen should have a correct apprehension of the realities of the situation, without indulging in day dreams. He himself is a believer in the possibility of Home Rule for India, but he declines to believe that the day is come for it. No true patriot ever contends that subjection to another nation is a matter of glory and his country should never attain independence. But it is a different question altogether if self government can be had for the asking and even if it could be had so, whether it could prove a boon to the people just now.......There is no use pretending that if the administration of our local bodies leaves much to be desired, it is due to the restrictions imposed upon them by the Government and the official control exercised over them. The point is, are the local bodies doing for the people what they really can even under such restrictions and control. And

if the answer is to be honest it can only be a negative. It is here that the art of self government is to be learnt and when we are able to manage our local affairs more satisfactorily than we do now, it will be time to ask for some kind of self rule. Till then, the possibility of obtaining it is but an academic discussion which will not lead to any practical results."

Writing on this subject, the West Coast Spectator, of the 24th March, says:--"Every moderate politician in India must congratulate himself that Dr.T.M.Nayar has entered active political service. And no sensible Indian can afford to keep mum when cant and humbug pass muster for patriotism and wild talk take the place of moderation..... The Home Rulers and their High Priestess find in him a real Turk, to catch hold of whom is a dangerous business as the Irishman who caught the Tartak knew to his cost.

"Dr.Nayar keeps his mouth closely shut, his ears and eyes wide open, when controversy is raging fast and furious, till he has heard arguments for and against, and when there is a lull come his broadsides. He sails into action like the Queen Elizabeth with her 15 inch guns, and having smashed his antagonist and carried the day, he trots out of the lists like young Lochinvar who has come out of the West happy in the knowledge that he has done his duty.......The presence of such a man will only lift public life to a higher plane. He has now assumed supreme command of the Non-Brahman forces striking terror in Adyar and Mylapore, and we confidently look forward to the day when he will lead his community to final victory. We hope he will, in one of those days, undertake a political tour whipping his men into action and creating newer energies for the advance of the Non-Brahman communities who have fallen down, and used

as pawns on the chess board of scheming Brahman politicians."

The Malabar Herald. for the week ending 24th March, states:--"The recent lecture delivered by Dr.T.M.Nayar in Madras on 'Our Immediate Political outlook' may be regarded as a bomb thrown in the midst of Home Rulers who are up at arms against him for the new political creed which he is trying to inculcate into the minds of the Indians. Dr.Nayar's lecture is of the plain-speaking type. The main point which he emphasizes is that India is not ripe for self-government or Home Rule. This is the opinion we expressed in a leading article of ours published in our issue of the 12th August last. We argued the point by stating that before India could be given Home Rule there should be an Indian nationality and the masses educated to have a fairly intelligent conception of a system of self government and above all, Indian industries should be so far developed as to give India an independent position. There are the three main requirements which we indicated, and unless they were provided self-government or Home Rule would be a Government by a microscopic minority."

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259. The Home Rule Movement.

(Dated 31st March, 1917, Page 948, Para 16.)

The West Coast Spectator, of the 31st March, writes:--

"Some well-meaning friends have called our attention to what they are pleased to call our opposition to the Home Rule movement, and we are also told that certain fire-eating 'junkers' of the militant Home Rule camp have proclaimed a crusade against us and our paper.... ...We are for Home Rule in fulness of time; we desire to see the largest possible freedom of action and self-governing powers delegated to India; but we are unable to reconcile ourselves to the demand that immediately after the war the Parliament should pass an Act giving India complete autonomy and recalling every Englishman from this country.

6 This is the vital point of difference between us and the blatant Home Ruler. While we see Home Rule looming in the distance, the latter sees it at the tip of his nose. We strongly disapprove the method of work- which is nothing but talk--of the average Home Ruler, and we hold that the ground has to be prepared before the reception of autonomy......What Gokhale said still holds good, and we would take our political lessons from that great statesman rather from impatient idealists and political swashbucklers to whom honest and honourable methods of political warfare seem to be repugnant."

Referring to the Hon'ble Mr.V.Srinivasa Sastri's speech at Lucknow on "our Political Critics", Justice, of the 6th April, says:--

"In the face of the existence of prejudices like this are the British people to entrust the Government of

this country into the hands of Mr.Srinivasa Sastri and others of the same kidney? If such a transfer of political power is unfortunately effected, what would be the fate of men under Mr.Srinivasa Sastri's rule, who were ineligible to join the Triplicane Co-operative Society? Leaving for a time the fate of such class of people alone, let us enquire what foundation there is for the unqualified claim that the educated classes themselves are capable of self-government. The average exucated man has not shown himself particularly capable of managing a third-rate municipality, and some of the best of them have shown that they have not been able fully to profit by the institution of the Legislative Councils. Here in Madras were concluded yesterday the sittings of the local Legislative Council at which many an important resolution that was discussed was brought up, not for the first or second time but some of them even for the third and fourth time. To bring up old resolutions without having a single fresh argument to advance in favour of it is the height of boredom; and when the Government replied to one of these propositions in terms rather flattering to the Indian members but not substantially differing from the position taken up by Government on previous occasions, some of the Indian members shed tears of joy and congratulated the Government on having looked at the question from a new point of view. The fact of the matter was there was no new point of view at all, but that the Indian members were cleverly bamboozled by an Indian official who apparently is an expert in flattery. These are the men who want self-government and Home Rule. It is a pity that they themselves cannot see the ludicrousness of the situation. A band of men nursing insufferable pretensions on insignificant abilities, is promenading the country as political leaders ready to take up the

Government of the country. It is as good as a play. If there was any chance of the British Government or the British people taking these men seriously the play would be a tragedy, but as we know that there is no possibility of such a mistake being committed, the play is a farce and a rollicking one at that."

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260. Home Rule.

(Dated 6th April,1917, Para 135, Page 1064.)

The Swadeshabhimani, of the 6th April, writes:-- If Indian popular leaders make any reference to the Home Rule question, some of the authorities of the type of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay feel annoyed. They tell us that controversial matters ought not to be discussed at the present time. Yet we see that in Europe itself, in a country so close to the seat of war as Ireland, there is open reference in the Parliament to the possibility of granting Home Rule to Ireland. Whatever the result, there is at least fearless discussion in England regarding the question of Home Rule whereas in India, so distant from the theatres of war, the people can hardly find it possible to acquaint the authorities even with their moderate demands. This can only be accounted for by the evil stars which are dogging India. We hope that our brethren in Ireland at least may obtain Home Rule in this twentieth century, with the consent of their Government.

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261. <u>The demand for self-government.</u>

(Dated 16th April, ~~Pagex~~ 1917, Page 1089, Para 6.)

Writing on this subject, Justice, of the 16th April, says:--

"the Hon'ble Mr.V.S.Srinivasa Sastri of the Servants of India Society has after all found an apologist in Madras in Mrs.Besant. Mrs.Besant is in charge of a daily paper. She could well have replied to the leading article in Justice of the 6th instant earlier than on Saturday last. Perhaps she required over a week to sharpen her shafts. If so, the result of the operation must be disappointing to her admirers. ....Mr.Srinivasa Sastri talked big about sacrifices, and we wanted to know what he has sacrificed. What is Mrs.Besant's reply? 'He sacrificed, says she, his position, his home, his income, his caste, himself, to become a member of the Servants of India Society'. This is in the characteristic vein of Mrs. Besant. Why, she may turn round and tell us that she has herself sacrificed her home, her country, her religion, her old association and everything else she could call her own in her own native land to become first a member of the Theosophical Society and latterly the leader of the Indian Home Rule party and especially of the Brahman Home Rulers of Madras. But does Mrs.Besant believe that ~~his income, (his caste, himself to become a member of the Servants of India Society.' This is in the characteristic vein of Mrs.Besant. Why, she may turn round and)~~ this sort of argument will convince anybody but those who have been weak enough to accept her as their political Guru? ~~In Great Britain~~

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In Great Britain as in India she could have made speeches. But would she ever be an acknowledged spiritual guide or a political leader among her own people? Mr.Srinivasa Sastri has made sacrifices indeed! Why, there are hundreds of schoolmasters in this Presidency, possessing his educational qualifications, doing quet work in the class room, some of them much abler, who are ready to make the same sacrifice if only they have influential patrons to give them a helping hand. We also know of itinerant lecturers, men who speak as fluently as this Mr. Sastri who wherever they speak, are listened to by hundreds with rapt attention and who may put forward the same claim. Again, they have none at their back to help them on to a Legislative Council; and this, too, is an advantage of the country, for it wants honest and unostentatious workers who shun the limelight.

"It is our deliberate opinion that in the present state of Indian society he who has permanent material stakes in the country and whose knowledge of it is derived through his constant contact with the realities of life, does more for its welfare by actively and intelligently engaging himself in the discussion of public questions of every description, in which of course his experience and pratical wisdom are of great advantage, than hundreds of mere talkers with no great stakes, who roam about the land as political teachers...... Mrs.Besant's knowledge of the country and its people is second hand. We are not surprised that, because some people regard her as their leader, she thinks that every person, irrespective of his position in the country, who could get together a large audience to hear him is a leader.....Of course, a lady who imagines that the Madras section of the All-India

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Congress Committee, apparently because it bears a grand name, is a representative body, may believe anything. But we do not want to analyse the mental processes by which she arrives at her conclusions either in politics or in religion. We cannot however help remarking that she would do well not to import into the domain of politics the methods that may be useful to her in her other sphere of activity. In spite of her ipse dixits and in spite of her friends and admirers, the self-respecting people of this Presidency will refuse to accept a man as their leader, merely because, by means of a few votes, he was able to get into the Viceroy's Legislative Council.....In the present state of India those who are at the top are the British and the Home Rulers now want the British to retire in favour not of the most stable and responsible elements in the population but for the sake of the most articulate. But you may depend upon it that till the other classes are also convinced of the necessity of this change, there will be no change, and the other classes will never accept Mrs.Besant as a leader. She may believe that she and her followers 'seek to ameliorate the present state of the country, by agitating for Home Rule. In her case this is, of course, a new belief and for aught we know she may abandon this belief. But we who have faith in the spirit of British justice and in the commonsense of our own countrymen have no anxiety whatever about the path along which India has been going forward."

Justice of the 17th April, remarks:--"The extremist politicians use the terms responsible government' and irresponsible government somewhat in a peculiar sense. If a few educated Indians, and by educated Indians they mean the English educated, take charge

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of the Government of this country, from being irresponsible, it becomes responsible.........Do these shallow political critics really think that if a few wandering political lecturers are placed at the head of the Government, it will become responsible? Their present methods of controversy prove that they are the most irresponsible of men and that whoever may be placed in positions of trust and responsibility, they are the persons who should never be allowed to occupy such positions.

"It is a absurd again to take for granted that all the English-educated men in India are in favour of Home Rule and that they look up to Mrs.Besant as their leader. We admit that some English-knowing Indians have turned Home Rulers at the bidding of this lady. But the most responsible among English-educated Indians do not take their opinions from her. In their own way they have been working for such constitutional reforms as they think would be suited to the needs of the country. But they have never countenanced and will never countenance any revolutionary political propaganda, the effect of which would be to destroy the existing social order. Progress and order are not inconsistent terms, and there is a large volume of instructed political opinion in the country which favours steady political progress without completely undermining the existing social structure.

"Let not, therefore, the professional politician and his comrades imagine that they are the only representatives of the English-educated classes. The sober, sagacious and self-respecting section of educated Indians will neither follow, nor care to associate themselves with political adventurers who pose as political leaders. Their traditions, their status, add

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~~262~~ the esteem in which their countrymen hold them make them weigh every opinion and doctrine, not as theorists but as men of affairs".

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262. The Malabar District Conference.

(Dated 23rd April, 1917, Page 1160, Para 12.)

Writing on this subject, Justice, of the 23rd April, says:--

"Two or three names were mentioned in connection with the Presidentship of the Malabar District Conference, of which the last we heard of was that of Mr.Tilak. With Mr.Tilak's politics we have no sympathy. But he is undoubtedly a most remarkable man, and the change from him to Mr.C.P.Ramaswamy Ayyar is like that from the sublime to the ridiculous. Mr.Ramaswamy Ayyar, is however, a fit successor to his revered friend Mrs.Annie Besant', for neither of them knows anything about Malabar and its people.........Having accepted the offer Mr.C.P.Ramaswamy Ayyar had to do his best. He seems to have got up his case with his professional ~~xxxx~~ skill and readiness. But unfortunately the lawyer's method would not do in politics. If length is any merit in a presidential address of this kind, Mr.Ramaswamy, Ayyar's address has that quality, for it covers nearly forty-four pages of printed matter. But one looks in vain though this protentous performance for any practical suggestion or illuminating idea, which will be helpful to the inahabitants of Malabar in solving their local difficulties. With hardly any material change, he could have delivered the same address to a

similar audience in Peshawar or Chittagong. Of course, he has a great deal to say about the Home Rule Movement and, in that connection, about the South Indian People's Association and its organ. But it is New India politics all over, and we do not want to waste time by recapitulating the theories so dear to the hearts of the 'croakers' of the Home Rule variety.........From Indian politicians of Mr.Ramaswamy Ayyar's type practical men expect nothing but tame platitudes and dreary commonplaces, and the Calicut Conference will pass off as do some of the festivals on that coast."

Writing under the heading "Tennis Court Conference", Justice, of the 24th April, remakks:--"It was in the closing years of the eighteenth century that the third estate in France, self-styled National Assembly, driven out of the hall of the three orders by the orders of the King, held their session on a tennis court in Versailles owned by M.Lataille. And in later years when the King had accepted the constitution prepared by the tennis court conference, the master of the tennis court, M.Lataille, received honourable mention and due reward of money. It is strange that history repeats itself even in some of its minor details. We have in the early years of the twentieth century as assembly of national constitution-makers driven out from the Government maidan at Calicut by Mr.Collector Evans meeting in the tennis court of Mr.Raman Menon to formulate the future Indian constitution. To borrow the language of Carlyle, the Collector of Malabar immagined that he could scatter a few hundreds of Malabar representatives big with national consitution, like so much barndoor
poultry big with next to nothing by one of his district Magesterial orders.
Barndoor poultry fly cackling, but national representatives turned lion-faced and with stentorian voices delivered speeches and passed resolutions.

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The piece de resistance of the Malaber District Conference was the address of Mr C.P.Ramaswamy Ayyar. We are told that Mr.Ramaswamy Ayyar has compressed in forty-five printed pages his brief address to the Malabar District Conference. Mr.Ramaswami Ayyar is a disciple of Mrs.Besant and his address, which is a correct summary of New India politics, probably was intended as a sort of rehearsal before Mother Besant of what his performances are to be in England, where he is supposed to proceed next month to do'spade work' for the Home Rule cause. We are afraid this sort of spade work will not do for England. Mr.Ramaswamy Ayyar can do some spade work in the trenches in France. That may be of some use. But long winded rigmaroles like the presidential address of the Malabar District Conference don't thrive in the freer atmosphere of England, and British audiences have a very short and effective method of dealing with them. Mr.Ramaswami Ayyar has made the discovery that Dr.Nayar is erratic. Compared with Mr.Ramaswamy Ayyar's steadiness, perhaps Dr.Nayar is. He has, however, remaind steady on one point, that is his opinion about Mrs.Besant and her propaganda. Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar may consider himself steady on that subject. But to others it appears to be somewhat fickle. But, however, one need not criticise the action of a young man who is just taking to politics very seriously. It is better for young men to get under the wing of some one or other who could stage-manage them properly. We have no doubt that Mother Besant is stage-managing Mr.Ramaswami Ayyar very well-indeed. We wish him success in his new venture, but he must really ask Mother Besant to coach him up a little better in his political methods if he wants to attain success."

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Justice, of the 26th April, states:--"We,,too, have been receiving a number of letters about the Calicut Conference. We cannot afford to publish them all. It is clear that the Conference was the work of a few Home Rulers--with which the inhabitants of Malabar had practically nothing to do. The masses in the interior know nothing about it even now. There are again those who look upon the whole thing as a harmless show. The Home Rulers have been trying to make much of it. Doubtless, that is their business. But this sort of business is not likely to thrive long. Politics which has no root in living social facts will never appeal to thoughtful and practical people."

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263. Mrs.Besant and Dr. T.M.Nayar.

(Dated 22nd April, 1917, Page 1164, Para 20.)

The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 22nd April, has the following:--"You scratch my back and I scratch yours." The Hon'ble Mr.Srinivasa Sastri is vigorously carrying on the self-government to-day propaganda; and when he treads on the toes of the lion in Dr.Nayar and gets a severe drenching, Mother Besant stretches out her hand to her beloved: My dear son, mind not your enemies who speak falsehood and maliciously attack you. I shall abuse those who abuse you, for am I not a mother and should I not take care of my children? And Mrs.Besant stands between Mr.Srinivasa Sastri and Dr.Nayar, and in her great knowledge of human nature, tries to pit the Non-Brahman community against Dr.Nayar by referring to Tondiarpet and the Madras

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Medical Bill. Mrs.Besant very woefully misunderstands the situation if she expects that at the very sound of Tondiarpet Mr.Thyagaraya Chettiyar will quarrel with Dr.Nayar, or that the Directors of the South Indian Peoples Association would resign. Poor mother.

"Mrs.Besant has stooped to a kind of journalism which is strange in India, and she keeps it up in her attack on Dr.Nayar. She describes the Justice article as containing 'more prejudice and personality than reason and truth. And in another place refers to the organ of the Non-Brahmans as showing malice and untruthfulness. Mrs.Besant charging others of prejudice and personality and malice and untruthfulness reminds us of Satan's tears for sin. She lectures to Dr.Nayar on journalism. She insulted Mr. Gandhi. When Mr.Gandhi in his saintliness forgave her she praised him-called him a prophet. But when Gandhi came out with an explanation, Mrs.Besant turned a somersault--"Mr.Gandhi is a pupet in the hands of the missionaries." And this is the woman who charges others of personality and prejudice, and malice and untruthfulness!

If Mrs.Besant is not a bundle of personality and prejudice, malice and untruthfulness, one wonders what she is. When her rash writings brought her within the Press Act, she screamed against Sir Harold Stuart and Sir P.S.Sivaswami Ayyar and also Diwan Bahadur Karunakara Menon. Now she praises the Indian with the Anglo-Indian heart, and put forth all her forces to make the Indian with the Anglo-Indian heart, and put forth all her forces to make Diwan Bahadur Karunakara Menon President of the Provincial Conference. * Is this not personality and prejudice and malice? Mrs.Besant

* She forgets how New India and herself behaved towards Mr. Gandhi at the Hindu University meeting.

is most systematically attacking the Non-Brahman Movement, and yet she affects to pity the depressed classes when, like a Duchess, she sleeps in the Adyar mansions. She, too, has made sacrifices, we suppose, as Mr.Srinivasa Sastri has made sacrifices!

"As for Mr.Srinivasa Sastri, his very name rouses contempt in us. One who sat silent at a public meeting when called a liar may find support from Mrs.Besant, but not from Non-Brahmans. We do not want to refer to Mr.Sastri and pollute our white sheets: Mrs.Besant may admire him and find out whether or not he was her husband in a previous birth. We leave mother and son together and wish them good luck at the hands of Dr.Nayar who has a very nasty way of dealing with people who err........Mrs.Besant could not forget the ugly exposure of Dr.Nayar in connection with the Leadbeater business. She has managed to erase these blots by a heavy downpour of Home Rule eloquence. She has succeeded. Let her not tempt the lion! 'Besant and Ramaswami Ayyar' sounds well enough, but 'Besant and Nayar' would be terrible."

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264- The Malabar District Conference.

(Dated 28th April, 1917, Page 1228, Para 8.)

In a leader under the heading "The capture of the Zamorin of Calicut," Justice, of the 28th April, observes:--

"The Zamorin of Calicut has been captured. Such in effect is the startling news conveyed to an admiring world by Mrs.Annie Besant in her Calicut Notes. The lenial descendant of the great Zamorins of Calicut, who have resisted the Muhammadan invasion of Malabar, now surrenders at discretion to grace in captive bonds the chariot wheels' of Mrs.Annie Besant. To a casual observer this would appear to be a remarkable triumph of Mrs.Annie Besant, ~~To a casual observer this~~ would on her Western front, and Mrs.Annie Besant in communicating this news to the outside world seems to be as happy as a child with a new toy. To the man in the street in this part of the country the capture of a titular Raja, whose estates even in his old age are managed by the Court of Wards, for obvious reasons, may not appear to be of very great significance; but not so with Mrs.Annie Besant. She revels in the theatrical. The firing of pop guns and the marching of stage armies appeal to her imagination. The military escort and the salute of guns make her realise for the moment the crown settling on her own head. In such an exuberant state of mind we could excuse her a good deal of the extravagance of language, something of the deviation from truth and other characteristics which are only pretty '(F)(annie's way...........Mrs.Besant sees the

hand of the anti-Brahmans of Madras behind the actinn of Mr.Evans in refusing the Mananchira maidan for the conference pandal--again, none of us here knew anything about the application for, or the refusal, of the Mananchira maidan--and she sees Mr.Raman Menon's tennis court expanding in dimensions till it becomes larger than the Mananchira maidan.

" 'The leading men of every community,' says Mrs.Besant, 'Nayars, Menons, Nambudiripads, Brahmanas, Thiyyas,' all came to the conference. Any one in Madras would imagine that there were five communities represented in this description. Nayars and Menons as different communities, Nambudripads and Brahmanas as different communities form a delightfully Besantine classification. Whether it is that the hasty study by Mrs.Besant of the West Coast communities has not made much progress, or whether she was anxious to show that a large number of communities had taken part in her conference, the classification is quite in keeping with the rest of the description. 'The feeling of the town, says Mrs.Besant, was shown in the enthusiastic welcome which greeted the long procession from the station to the bungalow.' We can quite believe that. We knew the Calicut people were fond of a show. When travelling circuses are not available, the Calicut people naturally took Mrs. Besant's show as a good substitute........These theatrical displays will not make converts. Mrs.Besant may think that she has captured Malabar, but we know better. She has captured a good many of the East Coast Brahmans settled down in Malabar and a few of the briefless vakils in one or two centres. She has never touched the heart of Malabar and never will. The whole of North Malabar is absolutely untouched,

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the substantial portions of South Malabar do not even know the name of Mrs. Besant. The Palghat Pattars and Calicut vakils do not constitute Malabar or any appreciable portion of it."

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265. Home Rule for India.

(Dated 3rd May, 1918, Page 1272, Para126.)

The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 3rd May writes:--

Like Ireland, India too is making extraordinary efforts to obtain Home Rule. Some say that there should be no agitation during the present crisis and that the question should be discussed at the close of the war. Others are of opinion that we must strike while the iron is hot and that this is the time for getting this privilege. There is wisdom in this latter contention also. A large section of the people is looking forward to the success of the Home Rule propaganda. We, Indians, have rendered excellent service in the present war for which we shall have our due reward. We shall be sure to obtain Home Rule at the close of the war.

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266. Students and politics.

Dated 7th May, 1917, Page 1296, Para 5.)

The Hindu, of the 7th remarks:--

"An important order on the question of the participation of students in political meetings and movements appears to have been passed by the Government of Madras quite recently. It is curious that a copy of this order, which has presumably been placed on the editor's table, has not yet reached us. We give an extract from the leading article of the South of India Observer, which gives the substance of the order which will, we are sure, be read with considerable surprise..........We are not aware of any attempts made to allure students to politics by any responsible person engaged in political work. The Government should, we think, have derived this information from sources not open and not known to the public, and the accuracy of which cannot therefore be put to any test......The order is a most retrograde and mischievous one, which denies to undergraduates a privilege which is enjoyed and highly prized in every civilised country in the world. It is deemed desirable by high authorities whose vision is not obscured and whose views are not warped by political considerations as in India, that these young men should closely follow the development of political movements by studying such questions and attending public meetings. It is not a healthy state of mind which has inspired this objectionable order, and it is not difficult to see how narrowly will some heads of colleges be inclined to interpret the new rules which clothe them with

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extraordinary powers. The order in question will relax discipline in educational institutions, lead to inquisitorial inquiries, and tend to produce a state of demoralization. By one stroke of the pen, a Principal can throw dirt on a political worker who is announced to deliver a public lecture and this is an intolerable situation. We hope the forthcoming Provincial and the Educational Conferences at Cuddalore will take up the matter."

6 In commenting on the recent order of the Government of Madras, on this subject, Justice, of the 10th May, observes:--

"The Government order is like shutting the stable door after the horse has been stolen. His Excellency the Governor in Council has come rather late to this conclusion. But the parents and guardians of most of the young men concerned have been of the self-same opinion all along, and students in schools and colleges in Madras have unfortunately been under the influence of the new political propaganda. Why were the Madras Government inacitve so long,--why were they rather indifferent spectators of what was going on--we could not ourselves understand unless, indeed, they took Mrs. Besant at her own valuation, as an irresistible soul-force, as she describes herself. But then they ought to have known that the times were out of joint and that young and immature minds should not be inflamed and embittered under conditions like the present........Politics as a branch of social activity cannot be set apart as a sort of forbidden fruit. If any attempt is made in that direction the result will be disastrous. What is to be done is to place before students political

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subjects of the right sort and not the revolutionary propaganda of the irresponsible demagogue; and their instructors in schools and colleges and their parents and guardians should help them to study political questions during their moments of detachment from actual school and college work......The action of the Government has already been described as the new tyranny'. The art of the sophisticated rhetorician has been drawn upon to condemn it. The heroes and heroines of ancient and modern India are all re-called. and, in their name, Young India is appealed to with all the fire of inflammatory rhetoric. 'There is very little freedom left for our young men, says Mrs. Besant, and now an additional curb is sought tobe applied. What is intended thereby? That our young men should not turn Home Rulers in a straightforward manner. Will the order achieve its purpose? Most assuredly not.' If Mrs.Besant can still get crowds of young men to cheer her at her meetings, why fret and fume like this? She says that the 'Order is unreasonable and is fraught with mischief. But Mrs. Besant is a foreigner who is not responsible to anybody. She may give up Home Rule and Indian politics altogether as she has given up other things in the past. She may take the next steamer and go wherever she pleases. But the young men whom she has been appealing to are to be the future citizens of India, and their parents and guardians have a voice in the matter.

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267. Students and Politics.

(Dated 10th May, 1917, Page 1296, Para 5.)

The Hindu, of the 10th May, states:--

"The order on students and politics bears on very clear evidence of hasty production, for we are convinced that longer deliberation and free but private consultation with leaders of Indian opinion would have certainly enabled the authorites to avoid the blunder that they have committed. Apparently the fiat had to go forth early with a view to prevent undergraduates from attending and serving as volunteers at the Cuddalore Provincial Conference."

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268. Students and Politics.

(Dated 11th May, 1917, Page 1298, Para 5.)

Justice of the 11th May remarks:--

"The order of the Madras Government on students and politics is dated 1st May, and the Government are charged with sinister intent for keeping it back till the 10th of May. Together with this document were published other orders of Government on different subjects bearing earlier dates. Nothing is said about them, and the Government are not blamed either for their dilatorines or delay. The truth is that the Government ~~are not blamed either~~ did not deliberately withhold the order on students and politics with a view to insult the Congress organisation which includes all the leading men of the Province.......We do not know whether those who make such charges are really serious.

The other charge is that the order has been promulgated so as to upset the arrangements made for the conference at Cuddalore. No doubt that has been one of the immediate consequences of the order. ~~But the order itself has been issued not for the maintenance of the order)~~ But the order itself has been issued not for the maintenance of the authority of the Government but in the best interests for the students themselves. Our only regret is that was not issued earlier..... Young men in this Presidency used to attend political meetings and render useful personal service at Congresses and Conferences. No one interfered with them and perhaps they were themselves the better for it. But with the inauguration, after the outbreak of the war, of the Home Rule propaganda there came a change-- a transformation almost. Young men were made to believe that they were well equipped politicians who could deal with the gravest public questions of the day and could save their country, perhaps, as the Russians did. Those who ought to be devoting their time and energy mainly to school and college work and acquiring the knowledge and skill necessary to enable them in good time to take the places of those who are above them have of late become ardent students of the ephemeral literature of Home Rule so assiduously collected and preserved for their hourly and daily consumption under the guidance of special Home Rule protagonists. Are the parents and guardians and the Government themselves justified in looking, on, as mere bystanders, having no responsibility of their own?........The order of the Government seeks to preserve the young and unwary student against the subtle machinations of irresponsible agitators."

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269. <u>The Government order on students and politics.</u>

(Dated 8th May, 1917, Page 1299, Para 6.)

In a further article on this subject, the Hindu, of the 8th May, says:--

"The Government of Madras have out-heroded Herod. Their recent orders on the quetion of the connection of students with political movements, go very much further than the directions to Local Governments contained in the notorious Risley circular issued in 1907 by the Government of India........What has happened, in this quiet corner of India, to induce the Government of His Excellency Lord Pentland, to go beyond the orders of the Government of India, we frankly do not know.... ..A reckless use of these instructions leading to the suppression of movements calculated to create a sense of solidarity among students, and to the excitation of greater curiosity regarding political gatherings and associations partly because access to them is denied to students, will only result in confusion, indiscipline and injustice. The Local Government, it appears to us, are only courting trouble by issuing such essentially harsh and mischievous instructions."

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270. Mrs.Besant and the Non-Brahman.

(Dated 6th May, 1918, Page 1308, Para 22.)

The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 6th May, has the following:--

"We publish elsewhere a correspondent's challenge to New India and Mrs.Besant's reply. We do not like to repeat what we have said. It is impossible to argue with an obstinate woman, and if she is mad to boot, we must give it up. If the Non-Brahman movement has come to be known as an anti-Home Rule movement, Mrs.Besant has to thank herself. Who opposes the Non-Brahmans to day? It is she. She accuses us of abusing Congress leaders? And who are our leaders? Mrs.Besant will place herself first, and Mr.Srinivasa Sastri is a leader who has made sacrifices. And Mr.Yakub Hussian who stinks in the nostrils of our readers along with Mr.Srinivasa Sastri, is also a leader. When these people strike us and we strike them back with vigour, an enraged mother shrieks curses. By throwing herself into the Brahman camp and by attacking us incessantly--the convert is always the more bigotted--she has set a whole community against her and while she may yet attain martyrdom by violent abuse of Government, she is most certainly destroying the excellent Home Rule movement for the sake of self-advertisement."

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271. <u>A meeting of the Home Rule League at Salem.</u>

(Dated 2nd May, 1915, Page 1332, Para 87.)

A correspondent writes to the Swadesamitran, of the 2nd May, of a public meeting held at Salem under the auspices of the League in which Mr.Anantanarayana Sastriyar, a Pleader, who has sacrificed his profession and is going about delivering lectures on Home Rule, delivered a lecture on the nature of the movement, and pointed out that the movement was indeed an old one, advocated by Mr.Dadabhay Nowroji at the Calcutta Congress, and referred to the memorandum of the representative members to the Viceroy, the resolution passed at the last Lucknow Congress on the subject and the defects in the existing Legislative Councils and urged for the right of control over the budget estimates being vested in the people. Then, says the correspondent, Mr.K.V. Sunrahmanya Ayyar spoke about how commerce and industry would advance under Home Rule, and how education, sanitation and irrigation will be the chief objectives of it, how the scale of salaries of the members of the Civil Service will be reduced and how the railways will be under the management of the Government instead of private companies. The correspondent adds that other speakers followed, that 20 persons joined the league and that there was a prospect of 30 more joining it.

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272. Home Rule League.

(Dated 29th April, ~~Rx~~ 1917, Page 1349, Para 133.)

The Andhrapatrika, of the 4th May, reports the Kesari to have written:--

Under this heading the Desabhimani, of the 29th April, writes:-- The Home Rule Leagues have to do very extensive work in India. They have to spread a right idea of Home Rule among the people; Much has to be done in England also. The leagues have to enlist the sympathy of the people of England on their side. Similar leagues have to be established in England. A Home Rule Bill has to be introduced into the Parliament. We may fail in the beginning, but we should not be disheartened. We should see that it is introduced again and again. By perseverance we may reach the goal. Proper help should be sent from India to those who have set about to work in England. For all this there must be unity among the Indians. They must sink all differences. This is not the time for the fomenting of differences. In this age unity is the secret of success. Mr.Tilak has given away a lakh of rupees to the cause of Home Rule. Unless the Indians subscribe to this cause and unitedly carry on incessant agitation, Home Rule will not be possible...... England is fighting on the side of liberty. Liberty is bound to win. This is just the time for the Indians to place their ideal of Home Rule before the rulers.

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273. The Anti-Home Rule Campaign.

(Dated 11th May, 1917, Page 1354, Para 145.)

In its columns of general news, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 11th May, writes:--

Seeing that the Home Rule League is growing active in India, the Raja of Kuruppam has begun agitation with a view to start a counter-movement. It appears to us that he is acting in this manner under some mischievous influence.

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274. Students and politics.

(Dated 13th May, 1917, Page 1378, Para 1.)

The Non-Brahman, of the 13th May, observes:--

"It is a favourite subject of the politician, and it has come up again in this Presidency. The Government of Madras has at last thought it necessary to issue instructions to the college authorities to keep back students from active political associations. We would go further and wish the Government to issue definite instructions to keep out any student found to loiter about Home Rule Leagues, where the grown ups, in the name of the mother country and the rest of it, tell cock and bull stories to the young. The students have been spoiled; they are being innoculated early with the serum of humbug and insincerity which comes from the so-called leaders. A false conception of patriotism is abroad and it is high time that our youths

were saved from this. At least as much as the parents and patriots the Government have a right to save and direct children, and we are glad that some action has been taken........We do not at all want that students should take an interest in such questions, although Mr. Leadbeater is of another opinion. We do not want our young men to know anything about sexual science, but we do not issue circulars. We expect them to keep off, and there is the force of public opinion to keep them back. We expect such a force of public opinion to come to save our young men from the attractions of politics. The parents who want their young men to grow into citizens, and to grow up promisingly must see to it that they do not seriously take to politics. If they do, they have not the spirit of the teacher, and must give way. In this country, however, things seem to be topsy turvy, every one who abuses the officials is a politician. The best sign of an ardent patriot is to exclaim 'Oh Mother India how the official has been draining the resources of Thee. Oh how I am anxious to serve thee and to die for thee mother.' And you have only to abuse the official, and you are hailed as a patriot, and you can be anything you like, but it will be all forgiven you, for you become a public man, and a martyr. The good intentions of the Government in issuing these orders is never accepted. It is taken for granted that because the bureaucracy is anxious to keep India as a dependency, and because the young men who take to politics might grow up to be the formidable opponents of this order are out against. It is lie but there is no preventing such thoughts. And the circular does more harm than good.

"There is the danger of the foolish schoolmaster who is sure to undo it, and an overdo it. He may wrest from the hands of a student a copy of New India

and then there will be articles in the newspapers, there may be a teacher who may shadow the student, and quite possibly some Criminal Investigation Department creature may also have his own part. The result? Unnecessary sensation. We strongly deprecate these circulars: We hope that it will not be literally understood....... We like our young men to be up and doing. As it is, they are spoiled, they are book worms, they are wooden things and we do want them to be as mischievous as Mr. Norton was, and occasionally to kick a policeman and escape from his custody and run away.........Politics is inseparable from India, and it is idle to expect the students to keep off from it. We expect no lover of India to advise that our young men should be in air-tight compartments. But none the less we must frankly acknowledge the serious effects of the Arundale-Besant combination, and the Government have not awakened too soon. What would have been more effective and would have been the only right course is to have a conference of Principals and headmasters and tell them that they are not taking care of youths. We sympathise with Government, for it ought to do something, and yet ought not to do anything.......Apropos the order, Mrs.Besant writes 'the order is unreasonable and is fraught with grave mischief.' If we were neemies of the King-Emperor, we would welcome it most heartily and set about her work embracing our opportunity and leading youths out of Home Rule into anarchy........We ask Mrs.Besant whether she has build any subterranean chambers in her Young Men's Indian Association where young men may be helped to attend meetings. Driving into anarchy, doing covertly, what does all these mean? It seems as if there were many more things behind of which the Government and the public were unaware. What

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does Mrs.Besant mean by threatening the Government and pointing to our young men that these are covert ways. We thought that she was here not to attack the Government as the Germans do. We have heard how the Germans placed women and children as they marched on, and here is Mrs. Besant placing young boys in her front in her attack on Government. Oh, save us from such friends.

"We again repeat that there is no reason to attribute motives to Government; it has only done what the parents in any other country would have done. It is for the good of our boys, and let not the politician make capital out of it. It is a sin, a crime to place our youths in front of the cowardly politician. What is the meaning of suggesting to youths crooked paths and covert ways? Are crooked ways taught to young men in Theosophical educational trusts schools? Cannot politics be for the good of the country? Must it be always against the Government of Madras? We warn Mr.Ramachandra Rao who has signed the order--he would be described as an Indian with an Anglo-Indian heart, but if he would attend a Young Men's Indian Association meeting, why he would be a sage and a patriot and all that."

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275. Mr. Madhava Rao on Home Rule.

(Dated 15th May, 1917, Page 1391, Para 14.)

The Travancore Times, of the 15th May, writes as follows:--"The Twenty-third Madras Provincial Conference met at Cuddalore on the 9th instant, with Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao as the President. It was characterized by a lengthy presidential address, the main theme of which was self-government doctrine--a bloated doctrine preached from several platforms all over India whose absolute need of the hour is a thorough sifting in socio-economic problems. As such is the true state of affairs we do not know why people empty their energy in loud-talks of so-called political privileges. It is a mistake to think that India's salvation rests in the political liberation when her interests are conflicting being subjected to caste prejudices.......There is no concensus of opinion in the country about Home Rule as we have noticed from several platform speeches and writings in the press the dissenting voice prevailing among a very large section of the population against the Home Rule propaganda...........With due deference to Mr. Madhava Rao's statement we should ask if the present condition of the people would allow a sweeping reform now. The agitation of the few will not, we hope, move the Government which has bestowed every consideration and sympathy upon the people in their administration..... Whenever Mr. Madhava Rao is free from the cares of office he gives free expression to his opinions regarding the British Government boldly and openly. Expression of the views of great men like Mr. Madhava Rao is, no doubt, welcome: but it is astounding that men of his experience should make such sweeping statements when

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the overwhelming bulk of the population of India feel that their safety lies in being for a long time to come under the fostering care of the British, at least until such time as when they can resist the tyranny of those who have been the cause of their present degraded condition......Until the great mass of the submerged Indian society is reclaimed and set on a footing of equality why think of self-government? Are distinctions even now abolished? Are there not millions of outcastes in India to-day who are denied common rights with the Indian aristocracy? Let not public speakers forget the intolerance of the Hindu religion. Even today certain castes are not allowed to enter public thoroughfares during festival days. Whatever platform orators may say of India as a nation and of the bond of nationality that binds its peoples, we cannot blink the fact that very little love is lost between caste and caste and community and community...... We sincerely hope that the hearers of Mr. Madhava Rao's address will compare it with that of the Maharaja of Bikanir. With him we hold that the time for self-government has not yet come, that India is not yet ripe for it. The ideal has now been set before the people. They will, therefore, try to accelerate the speed of the progress of their country so that time may not be very far distant. The British Government, the most liberal Government known, will not grudge to give it when India demonstrates clearly that it is fit for managing its own affairs under the suzerainty of Britain. Until then those who agitate for Home Rule are speaking not for the country as a whole but only for an infinitesimal minority".

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276. The Bombay Home Rule League.

(Dated 9th May, 1917, Page 1433, Para 117.)

The Andhrapatrika, of the 9th May, reports Mr. Kelkar to have said:-- In spite of obstacles thrown by the Governor of Bombay, many are joining the Bombay Home Rule League. This is very encouraging. This child of a League, whose parents are loyalty and patriotism, is in its infancy. It is not a surprise that it would do so much work within a year of its birth. We love it publicly. I bless it saying, "Dear child! Like Sankara, soon finish your mission and go back to your own place".

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277. Students and politics.

(Dated 19th May, 1917, Page 1461, Para 2.)

The Cochin Argus, for the week ending 19th May, writes:-- "After we had written our leading article last week on the subject of the necessity that has arisen for active and organised propaganda, aimed at countering the mischievous Home Rule cult, which is spreading throughout the country, mainly because as in the case of certain noxious weeds in our fields and gardens no systematic attempt is made at extirpation, we came upon the wholesome order issued by the Madras Government, with the commendable object of putting down the subtle efforts of a certain political group to gain over the students and schoolboys of the country to

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the Home Rule cause. We see nothing repressive, reactionary or bureaucratic in this order, whereas, on the other hand, a careful and dispassionate analysis has brought us to the absolute conclusion that, in issuing these apparently drastic instructions, the Madras Government has been animated by the very best of motives towards the youth of this country, who will be the responsible citizens of to-morrow, but will scarcely be fitted for their citizen duties and responsibilities, if their heads are to be prematurely turned by active association in matters now beyond their immature judgment and discretion........As a matter of fact, the order amounts to nothing more than an amplification of the Risley Circular, which was issued about a decade ago under very exceptional conditions. The seditious political propaganda then in vogue had brought large numbers of Bengali students within its tentacles, and, as may be remembered, a great deal of harm to the youth of the country was the inevitable consequence. It is not too much to say that, had not the Government acted at the time as it did, India might have presented the deplorable and unparalleled spectacle of young men and lads leading the van of a revolutionary movement, of whose merits or demerits they could not possibly be judges at all.........The conditions which the spread of the present Home Rule cult is creating are certainly beginning to resemble those which about a decade ago gave such an unfortunate set-back to the true political and general progress and welfare of this country, and such being the case, the Madras Government in our opinion, has been very well advised in not waiting to take wholesome action, until after mischief had actually been brought about by those who, in their wilful

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or wanton political boindness, are insidiously working upon the emotions of the rising generation of the land.......Speaking seriously, it can do no harm whatever to students and schoolboys to abstain from active participation in the political activities of their elders, and in view of this there would really not be the very slightest warrant for any infringement of the instructions now issued......If it be true that Indian students and schoolboys will degenerate into anarchists and seditionists, merely because they are not permitted to participate in constitutional political agitation, then, we fear, there must be something xxxxxxxxxx seriously at fault in Indian home life, and such unselfish friends of India as Mrs.Besant & Co. would be much more usefully employed in tracing and eradicating this national defect than in attributing cruel and repressive motives to a Government, whichis merely prescribing a remedy for a distemper that has only too plainly manifested itself in the ranks of our students and schoolboys. The argument about degenerating into anarchists is about as ridiculous as to say that, were a schoolboy prevented by his parents from going to a circus, he would at once steal out at the back door and go and become a pirate, after the manner of the immortal Tom Sawyer, For our part, while we are quite convinced that the Madras Government has been neither untimely nor impolitic in issuing the present order, we are equally convinced that loyal obedience of the instructions now laid down would not at all be a difficult matter on the part of all right-minded students, and we hold very strongly also that all parents and guardians should do everything possible, in the best interests of their young men and boys, to see that the latter are not misled by evil advisers into courses that would redound only to their own discredit and injury"

The Non Brahman, for the week ending 20th May, remarks:-- If this is the development of a new phase of political agitation it is time that we take not of it. When the order prohibiting the students from participating in meetings in which professed opponents of Government proclaim the creed of hatred was passed we heard that threat "Beware, you are taking a very serious step. You will drive the students to take serious steps underground. You can only make them anarchists." We quoted the very words of Mrs. Besant in our last issue.

"Nor is this all. She has taken upon herself to attack the Government of Madras for the order. She has understood the order, and she is right, that it aims at her, and we are told that they, the leaders, are considering what they should do to counteract the order. That is a threat. We suppose that they will refuse to accept the order, and if the Educational authorities would not affiliate the institutions to the University, why, they can start a national university, absolutely unconnected with the Government whose products will seek employment, not in the Secretariat, not in the Revenue department, but open for themselves the commercial and industrial and public careers........We hope that when Mrs.Besant sends the threat across the columns of New India she has such an idea. But if it is only any fleeting ambition for martyrdom, if she only wants to attack the Government and go to the goal, and thus to show the world that she has suffered for India, and for her rising children then we must cry out against the dangerous maniacs who speak and act in the name of the country. If the threat is for disobedience of an order which, in their opinion, is against the interests of the country and which they would disobey after the manner of Mr.Gandhi, then we say that they are out to make

Madras another Bengal, and more than Bengal, and the sooner the Government moves to deport them the better would it be for the peaceful administration of the country.........As if the British Government is not wide enough and powerful enough for Mrs.Besant and her Indian patriots, she turns against the Indian States, for which she has the profoundest admiration and against which she has never a word to say. Everything done there are by Indians, and Indians can do no harm. That is her political creed, and so we are surprised to read the following definite threat to Cochin and Travancore in the columns of New India.......Either Mrs. Besant must have gone mad or she thinks that she can terrorise the Princes. What is it that she can do against them?--If she writes against the Princes rashly the Press Act will have stifled her. And she dare not deliver lectures there for Indians know best how to deal with Indians, and she will find herself bodily carried away from the confines of Native States. It is all very well to brag in British India, for the bureaucrat who is ready to bear in peace all deserved and undeserved attacks has the British spirit, and smiles when he is floored. But Indian States have quite another civilization......There has never been a more meaningless threat against the Indian States than this. If it is only madness we can pass it by. But people who would blindly threaten must be guarded against. Drunk with power and spoiled by indulgence, some people train themselves to the thought that the Government is afraid of them and that they have license enough to speak anything they like. These are real dangers indeed."

G.O.NO.589

"One of the results of G.O.No.559 was mentioned by Diwan Bahadur P.Kesava Pillai at the Ganjam District Conference. He had brught his son with him to help and serve him, but felt obliged to leave him at his quarters when he went to the Conference! The Government knows better what is good for Mr.Kesava Pillai's son than Mr. Kesava Pillai can know, and the boy must not be excited and corrupted by listening to his father. We note that at the Viza

Justice, of the 22nd May, has following:--"Just ten years ago when a number of Bengali boys appeared in mourning on account of the partition of Bengal, Mrs.Besant as President of Central Hindu College shut them out making the following observations: 'If we are to allow every different part of India to send orders to our boys to take part in political demonstration, then one day we may get an order from Calcutta, another day from Madras, Bombay or Lahore, bidding our students protest against or demonstrate for some party measure. All discipline would vanish and our institution would become a whirlpool of undigested politics instead of a sober educational training ground for India's sons. We surround them with an atmosphere of love of country, of duty to their motherland; we encourage discussion and debates; we foster initiative and self-dependance; but we avoid all sectarian controversies. If we did otherwise we should get animosity and party feeling instead of harmony and steadiness of growth. Just because we love India truly we dare to oppose our brothers

when they want to do that which is unwise. I say definitely and clearly that the duty of boys is to learn and not to make political protests. It is not their business to protest, but the business of men. Men rightly take part in the politics of their country. The boys have to learn, they must be educated, they must be disciplined. Studentship is the time of obedience. It is against the Hindu Shastras that a student should interfere in the affairs of his country. "Moreover it is not right that the boys' warm hearts should be used by elder people to foment public discontent and to harass Government." The italics are ours. Could any better reasoning or justification be found for the recent Government order than is contained in the above excerpt? What a fall from the high pedestal of 1907 !

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"The circular does not claim to be imperative or uncompromising in character, but vests a certain amount of discretion and authority in the heads of educationa institutions. It is easy to see that this may lead to new difficulties........If we looked very closely into its nebulously mandatory provisions, we would find indeed that this curcular is as much calculated to distract the minds of well-meaning educationists as to dishearten and depress their youthful charges. What, for instance, are the standards by which a college principal is to judge whether a meeting is political or non-political and whether the speakers are desirable or the reverse. Let us take a concrete case. In what category would a college principal be justified in placing a patriot like the Hon'ble Mr.Srinivasa Sastri? As a prominent and esteemed Legislative Councillor, could he possibly be set down an undesirable, from where the students of the country should be carefully kept away? On the other hand

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as the acknowledged political associate of Mrs. Besant, would it be safe or prudent to reckon him among the desirables? Try to imagine hard-worked college principals worrying over stiff problems of this sort. We do not write in a spirit of levity. We only desire to draw attention to the unscientifically sweeping character of the circular, which, though it means well, is calculated to produce much avoidable heart-burning and embarrassment, alike to the authorities and the people."

278.

Countering Home Rule.

(Dated12th May, 1917, Page 1466 Para 7.)

In a leader under this heading the Cochin Argus, for the week ending 12th May, states:--"In noticing, in our last issue, the proceedings of the Second session of the Malabar District Conference, we had occasion to point out how the attempts that were made at Palghat last year to capture the conference on behalf of the Home Rule Movement had been more or less successfully renewed this year, notwithstanding the comparaticely freer atmosphere of the metropolis of the district..... As we remarked the steady spread of Home Rule propáganda is by no means to be attributed to the intrinsic character of the Movement itself, but in reality to the glamour and fascination, which all visionary movements possess, especially for those whose politics are much more a matter of the emotions rather than of the thinking and reasoning faculties. This particular Movement, as we all know, is led by a remarkable woman, with a strong Irish strain in her blood, and all those who have followed her singularly romantic and adventurous career have doubtless

been struck by the extent to which that career has been influenced all along by the emotional side of her nature. So far as her present hobby is concerned, she takes especial delight in the circumstance that she has mostly all the younger men of the country with her, and if we read between the lines of her political outpourings, we shall also find that she secretly delights in having mostly all the school-boys too with her. Of course, she easily assumes, from the presence of the younger generation in her camp, that India is fully qualified for immediate and complete self-rule, and she strengthens her assumption by the equally cheap argument that most of the older men keep away from her, merely because they are played out fossils or extinct valcanoes, to use another and a more popular metaphor.....In short, the whole thing is an appeal to the emotions, and that is why the younger men and the school-boys, are being gained over slowly yet steadily, and that is why, unfortunately, the time honoured Indian spirit of veneration towards elders and respect for constituted authority is visibly being undermined. The soberer and more sensibly patriotic perceive the dangerous consequences which may follow from a political campaign of this sort, which appeals, not to the head, but to the heart, but they have hitherto not sufficiently realised the fact that this movement is gaining ground, for the most part only because no organised resistance is being offered to it.......The very considerable body of public opinion which is uncompromisingly against this undesirable movement and which perceives the danger in which it is increasingly placing the country has not yet recognised, however, the urgent and absolute necessity of active and organised measures calculated to stem the tide of a sinister agitation. Take Malabar for instance. The

The Home Rulers came and saw and conquered, ~~and saw and conquered,~~ but their Victory was a most easy one, because those who could have overwhelmed them chose to look on passively, while their district was being made captive. Of late, however, we observe that the feeling is gaining ground, if still much too slowly, that Home Rule ought to be opposed by active, organised and continuous measures, and the urgent need of such measures, has been very forcibly urged, in a plain-spoken communication, which the Raja of Kurupam has addressed to the Madras Mail. Of course, the Home Rulers will denounce the Raja for a toady and a traitor, just in the same way as they are now denouncing the Maharaja of Bikanir, because he has told the Empire that India will not for a long time be fit for complete self-government, but all true patriots and well-wishers of this ancient land would be well advised in getting to work without further delay and creating the active organisation, which as the Raja of Kurupam points out and most of us have already perceived, is imperactively necessary, if a mischievous movement is not to reach proportions that would constitute a grave menace to the orderly and progressive political, moral and material advancement and development of the country.....We earnestly hope the counter-movement, for which a demand is now being made, will not be long in springing into healthy and vigorous activity, for already the mischievous Home Rule Movement fanatically pushed, has done plenty of real injury to the best political and general interest of a country, whicy cannot be hustled without being badly hurt.

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279. Mr. Madhava Rao and the Home Rule.

(Dated 20th May, 1917, Pare No.9 Page 1468)

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Writing on this subject, the Non-Brahman, for the week ending 20th May, says:--"Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao has shown exactly how a Brahman can behave and has made a somersault. He abused the bureaucracy, and was thoroughly exposed in the Indian Patriot and the Madras Mail. The thrust went home, and the poor man began to cry aloud from the platform at the conclusion of the Madras Provincial Conference. 'They are abusing me, they are searching into my past to discredit me; they are after me'. And then came a wondercul somersault. The man who blindly abused the bureaucracy now turns round at the whip of the Madras Mail and whines, 'I do not mean what I say; I am an admirer of the British Government,' And that is the way a majority of the Brahmans have been getting on. When we express disgust at the ways of our leaders and would rather stand out of the miserable ring whence selfishness and insincerity show themselves stinking, we have in mind such people who say one thing and explain it away afterwards.....We shall quote some of the very sentences which Mr. Madhava Rao used, and first of all we must express surprise that within seventy-two hours such a change should come upon a being. After having abused the bureaucrats in unmeasured terms, here is the man stepping out on the forum and unblushingly say: 'No, you are mistaken. I never abused them at all. This is what I said and as for me, you have no idea how much of a worshipper I am of the British Government'. If, after this, the Diwanship of Indore is not offered to him, why, we shall only say that the Indian princes who would not take advantage of him are fools.....We wish

We wish him good luck at the hands of the New India. He has practically thrown Mrs.Besant overboard when he joins the Madras Mail and proclaims that he is against Home Rule. That is dear to her, it is the very breath of her life, and it is a pity that she has been repudiated thus in a public assembly. History will record how, when the great woman, the martyr who is here to elevate us, heard the words fall from the lips of the three States-ruled Diwan, she hung down her head. Venom is gathering and one day Mr.Madhava Rao will find it to his cost that he has harmed Mrs.Besant.But Mr.Madhava Rao has no reason to thank Mrs.Besant, for did she not coquet with Mr.Karunakara Menon, Mr.Madhava Rao's great enemy, who practically drove him away from Mysore by slashing articles in the Indian Patriot which afterwards were published as book and placed at the feet of the Viceroy? And Mrs.Besant was almost daily appealing through her paper to make Mr.Karunakara Menon, President of the Cuddalore Conference. Why should he not then bind her hand and foot and throw her into the folds of her inveterate enemy, the Madras Mail? And he has done it. Only, we are sorry that he forgot that Mrs.Besant was only alluring Mr.Menon from the Non-Brahman camp by praising, had as soon as he was safely deposited from the reach of the Non-Brahman leaders, why she turns round and writes in New India, 'We welcome Mr.Madhava Rao's address. It was because that we wanted an authoritative statement upon the subject of Home Rule that we wanted a public man like Mr.Madhava Rao.' Poor Mr.Karunakara Menon was forgotten, and why? Besant was coquetting with Mr. Madhava Rao. And what a fate. Mr.Madhava Rao in public repudiates her......Mr.Madhava Rao as Diwan of Mysore is a tyrant. Mr.Madhava Rao as President of the Hindu Sabha is a Hindu, and a more thorough partisan than even

the Maharaja of Dharbhanga. We do not know what he said as the President of the Reddi Conference, but we suppose that he must have abused Brahmans. And Mr. Madhava Rao as a politician abuses bureaucracy in one breath, and in the other praises them. Of course, we suppose all this is explainable with the subtlety of a lawyer. Only these speeches are intended for honest folk who read and understand them as visible to the naked eye and the plain brain".

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280. Mrs.Besant and His Excellency Lord Pentland.

(Dated 20th May 1917, Para 18, Page 1478.)

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The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 20th May, remarks:-- "The latest instance of Mrs.Besant's courage is when she attacks Lord Pentland for his order on students and politics. Why did the Government of Madras pass the order? Here is Mrs.Besant's courageous explanation:--The poor show made by Madras in the War Loan is due to the Governor's reactionary policy, and on his anger at the results of his own method he has struck this blow at the political life of the Presidency'. And so we have all except Diwan Bahadur Rajagopala Achariyar,-- Sir Alexander Cardew is impertinent; Mr Gillman is impertinent and here is Lord Pentland. We wish Mr.Rajagopala Achariyar good luck."

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281. <u>The Indian Home Rule League Conference.</u>

(Dated 18th May, 1917, Para 88, Page No.1506)

The Swadesamitran, of the 18th May, publishes a tegegraphic account in Tamil of the Proceedings of this conference which met in Bombay on the 17th idem. Mr.Baptista, the President, refers to the granting of Home Rule to India as the sole remedy for its discountent and says that the system of administration obtaining under the authorities of the present day is not liked by the Indians, and that these latter now proceed in a constitutional manner. In moving a resolution to the effect that the work of enlightening the public on Indian affairs in England should be undertaken by the central committee of the league, the Hon'ble Mr.Pelly points out that the league is not in conflict with the Congress inasmuch as this latter has to direct its attention to various other matters also, while the league confines its attention to the question of self-government. Mr. Tilak, speaking of the same, says that the congress is a body that deliberates on topics, while the league is an executive one. Continuing he observes that since 1858 several proclamations have been issued by the Government in India, but the people wish for real powers and there is no use in such proclamations being issued.

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282. Justice on Lord Pentland's speech.

(Dated 29th May, 1917, Para 11, Page 1551.)

Justice, of the 29th May, remarks:--"Since His Excellency Lord Pentland made his speech on the Home Rule propaganda almost every organ of the Home Rulers has had its say. By them he has been reviled and very severely dealt with. But his facts and arguments have yet to be touched. Vituperative rhetoric and emotional verbiage cannot win recruits or evoke sympathy. If Lord Pentland were wrong the straightest course for his critics to pursue was to prove his mistake. But nothing of the kind has been attempted. We are told by some of the Home Rule protagonists that he had no business whatever to speak on the general political questions of the hour. They affect to be anxious to know who authorised him to make his present pronouncement. Inferentially they suggest that he spoke on his own responsibility. It is not relevant to our purpose to enquire whether he made the speech after consultation with the Government of India or the Secretary of State. We hold that he has every right to take his own line of action in regard to a matter which has nothing to do with practical politics.......Lord Pentland is the head of a Provincial Government and Lord Chelmsford is at the head of the Imperial Government in India. Could not Lord Pentland take Lord Chelmsford as his authority? But in Great Britain, too, responsible public men have indicated the spirit in which the next instalment of Indian reforms should be framed. What, then, becomes of the charge that Lord Pentland spoke without authority and without warrant?

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"Apart from this, has not the Governor of Madras a right to speak on a subject which concerns his own Government? He is responsible for the peace, order and good government of this Province, and is at perfect liberty to make his views on any violent agitation carried on here known to the people under his care. If Home Rule had not been placed before the public as an immediate object to be attained the case would have been different........When newspaper writers and platform orators talk in the name of the country', the people and the nation' those who know the facts cannot but be vastly amused. As a matter of fact India cannot afford to have revolutionary political changes at the present moment......The educated men are a handful, and in most cases they belong to particular communities or castes and cannot therefore have the confidence and esteem which the British rulers by their sense of justice, and impartiality enjoy at this moment. The British Government know this, and they cannot shirk their responsibility merely because a few ambitious Indians shout for Home Rule. Every responsible British official has a duty to perform. What did Lord Pentland do but perform his own duty?......The British bureaucracy has been too often attacked by people who are anxious to dethrone it in order to be in its place. But the British bureaucracy is essentially just. If India is today fit for a larger instalment of reforms the credit for it belongs to that bureaucracy, and surely that bureaucracy must remain some time longer before its work can be said to be completed. Under the present conditions then, the various communities castes and classes must be given an opportunity to learn the business of managing their own affairs under the immediate guidance and direction of the British rulers; and undoubtedly more political power will follow in the

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wake of increased fitness for exercising that power."

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283. Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 27th May 1917, para 12, Page No. 1556.)

The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 27th May, writes:--"And so Mrs.Besant is using her organ to abuse--the only strength after all of women. One is surprised that sensible Indians should follow such a bundle of contradictions as this curious woman who tells us one thing today, quite another tomorrow and abuses all who would not agree with her. And yet these are the people who want self-government. We are addicted to flattery and she knows it with a woman's wile. We ought to be ashamed of ourselves that we should be thus hoodwinked........And yet this is the high priestess of self-government. The Brahmans may utilise her dare devilry so long as it suits their purpose, but we are honest folk, and have no patience with such miserable creatures as this Irish woman, who is ashamed of being a European (Englishwoman?) and would blindly rave just as the scavengar does in the public, road, and the scavengar always attracts a large crowd."

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284. India and Home Rule.

(Dated 26th May, 1917, Para No. 74., Page 1582.)

In its columns of General News, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 26th May, observes:--The enemies of Home Rule hold the view that India is cut up into many nationalities, races, castes and creeds which do not love each other and, therefore, lacks the unity which is necessary to Home Rule. They further believe that, even if there should chance to be such unity, it is so easy to bring about dissensions among the different classes of people, and then say easily that such quarrelsome people do not deserve to be granted Home Rule. As far as political matters are concerned, India is not wanting in unanimity of opinion. During the sitting of the last National Congress, the Hindu and the Muhammadans acted in complete concord and proved, even to critics blinded by selfishness, the absolute unanimity that could be observed between the different races at the Congress and other political Conferences. Differences there are as regards religion and caste. But we see no discord whatever in regard to political questions.

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285. **India and Home Rule.**

(Dated 27th May, 1917, Para 74, Page 1583.)

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The Mysore Star, of the 27th May, in a leading article observes:--Some of the educated Indians are burning with a desire for the immediate realisation of swaraj. This question is at present filling columns upon columns of every newspaper as well as the programme of every public meeting. They declare that the bureaucratic form of English administration now prevailing in the land should be uprooted. Those of the opposite party do not ask for immediate swaraj but wish to have it by gradual steps as Indians fit themselves for the privilege.

A close investigation into the present methods of Government cannot but lead us to the only conclusion that fiscal authnomy is absolutely essential for the proper development of our country. At the same time, taking into consideration, India's past history, a doubt arises in our mind that any such step, if taken at once, may lead to untoward results. It cannot be said that education alone befits a people to successfully bear the burden of administrative responsibility. A high standard of morality is equally necessary. Selfishness, jealousy and mutual feelings of superiority and inferiority as been the bane of India and has cost her lofty position and enslaved her to foreigners in the past. Even among the so called educated and cultured Indians occupying positions of honour and power, those who are free form vices such as partiality, selfishness, bribery and so on, form but a microscopic minority.

There are any number of educated officials who, though drawing a handsome salary, would not work disinterestedly and would openly demand bribes from the poor that approach them for redness. Presiding at the Bengal Provincial Conference Mr. Das remarked that day by day pride was tightening its grip upon most of our educated people who are becoming addicted to bribery and immorality and wanting in sympathy for the masses. The leading advocates of swaraj such as Surendranath Banerjee and Tilak have proclaimed from time to time that unless we sympathise with, and educate and elevate the masses, the agitation for swaraj will not bear fruit. Nevertheless the trend of events, happening in the country at present appears to be unfavourable for the advancement of our national solidarity. In the south while, on the other hand, the Brahman and non-Brahman problem has arisen to break up the popular unity, on the other, the birth of movements like the Varnashrama Dharma are only adding fuel to the fire by accentuating differences between man and man. Such activities as these cannot but make the patriots lament. The present state of India is far from satisfactory. The educated and the wealthy are indifferent towards the elevation of the masses and true patriotism is a rare commodity with us. It appears to us that a long time must pass before the idea of nationality becomes established in our country. A better development of character among the educated and more education, discrimination and a higher sense of freedom among the masses are badly needed and this will, of course, require a long time of probation under our English rulers who are endowed with a genuine feeling of independence and exceptionally high character.

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286. <u>His Excellency Lord Pentland's speech.</u>

(Dated 31st May, 1917, Para 9, Page No.1608.)

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The West Coast Spectator, of the 31st May, observes:--"Lord Pentland's amazing flare up at the last meeting of the Legislative Council has very naturally given rise to indignant protests in the Indian press. That the Liberal Governor has been applauded and patted on the back by such papers as the Statesman and the Englishman is itself evidence as to the 'stinging nature of the lecture Lord Pentland delivered for the delectation of his Honourable Colleagues in particular and the people of this presidency in general......We are opposed to the principle of Home Rule while you wait; we are not one of those star gazers who look through the Adyar telescope and calculate that India is over-ripe for Home Rule, but must respectfully protest against Lord Pentland's rather sweeping condemnation of India's aspirations which a new order of things, a newer sense of responsibility has created.... We do not demand that the 'Executive Government in all its departments' should be handed over to High Court Vakils and schoolmasters who animate the body politic. But we do certainly demand that the Government should no longer be governed by a small corteric of hide-bound super-bureaucrats, responsible to none but themselves, obsessed by the idea of their infallibility and see an agitator in every politician who criticises their acts..... To borrow Sir Rash Behari Ghose's language, the Home Rulers are so many crickets in the field. The noise they make is in inverse ratio to the influence they wield. Why, then, make much of their blatant propaganda? Political mounte banks there must be in all countries

mounte banks's kettle-drum fascinates only the urchins, and it is a mistake to regard the urchins' boisterous applause as the plaudits of a nation. The Madras Presidency is quiet. And sleeping dogs are better left alone. We do not feel ourselves competent to advise a politician of the type of Lord Pentland, before whom we are but the humblest. We repeat only what great men like Goghale and Rash Behar Ghose had said in the days of the great unrest when political sanity was at a discount in governmental as well as political circles. Angry speeches and veiled threats have never mended matters. The statesman should be abroad with his constructive propaganda and conciliation tongue, and not the policeman with his baton or the Criminal Investigation Department emissary with his confidential reports which are more often than not stabs in the dark."

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"Hill top notes by the Yogi of Devashola.

"The yogi has now read Lord Pentland's speech delivered at the meeting of the Legislative Council at Ootacamund last week. The yogi is glad that Lord Pentland has at last made up his mind to do his duty and break his silence. Mrs.Besant thinks that Lord Pentland is too late. The yogi begs to differ. Lord Pentland is not too late, but it was a very, very near ~~xxxx~~ near thing'. The yogi has watched with increasing sadness the drifting policy of Lord Pentland. The Home Rule agitation with its corresponding policy of getting at the school boys commenced within Lord Pentland's jurisdiction and during Lord Pentland's term of office. Other administrators in India have had to take prompt measures to prevent the spread of

of infection to territories under their own juris-diction, and yet Lord Pentland moved not. Lord Pentland was the man on the spot and knew full well -- if he did not he ought to have -the genesis of the agitation and its probable consequences. The yogi acquits him of culpbable negligence of duty. He was far too good-hearted a man to undertake such rough work. The yogi has in his mind another very good and kind-hearted man who permitted things in Ireland to drift till this Sinn Fein rebellion brought his drifting to a dead stop. The yogi is afraid that the same process of mind which made Mr. Augustine Birrell drift into a dangerous position was in operation so far as Lord Pentland is concerned. The desire to win popular approval and to carry people of all shades of opinion with him made him blind to the real nature of the agitation that was going on around him. Lord Pentland's one failing is that he cannot judge men and women properly by what he has learnt at the school of experience in India. The yogi believes that Lord Pentland had warnings of what was going on. However, the yogi is glad that Lord Pentland's eyes were opened before it was too late. The yogi need only remind Lord Pentland of the principle that was laid down by the Hardinge Commission which investigated into the affairs of the Irish rebellion, that with all properly constituted Governments the enforcement of law and the preservation of order ought to be always independent of political expediency."

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287. Lord Pentland's regime.

(Dated 2nd June, 1917, Para 10, Page No.1611.)

The Karnataka, of the 2nd June, states:--"We have already commented upon the ill-considered and bellicose utterance which has earned for His Excellency Lord Pentland the unmeasured censure of almost every Indian-edited journal in this country, extremist or moderate. The fact that His Excellency has chosen to open this unholy crusade at the fag-end of his term of office raises the question whether His Excellency is hopeful of continuing in office for any considerable length of time so as to be able to push forward the campaign to his heart's content. If he had no such hope, there is no reason why he should have provoked an already-much-tried people just at the moment when he should have, on the contrary, done or said something to please them so as not to leave an unpopular name behind. This circumstance gives rise to the suspicion that there might be some likelihood of Lord Pentland's getting an extension of the term of office; and it seems to us that our countrymen in Madras should give some serious thought to this aspect of the matter. Justice and expediency alike require that a Governor who has rendered himself disagreeable to the most intelligent and influential section of the public,--however estimable he be personally, and however well-intentioned in his own opinion,--should at once be directed to make room for a more sympathetic and level-headed successor."

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288. <u>Mrs.Besant and Justice.</u>

(Dated 2nd June, 1917, Para 11, Page No.1611,)

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Justice, of the 2nd June, writes:-- "A copy of Mrs. Besant's paper called the Commonweal has just been put into our hands in which Justice is stigmatised along with two other Madras papers as indulging in 'reckless calumny'. As an old lady in a hurry much may be forgiven of Mrs.Besant. But a lady has to be fair and just too. She cannot afford to be altogether above facts. In bringing this charge against us she has indulged in reckless calumny herself. Does she imagine that she does not 'excite and foster hatred and contempt against classes of His Majesty's subjects'? Not a week passes without her indulging in reckless calumny against some of the responsible rulers of this country. What do we do? We claim our social, moral and political rights, and our share of Government appointments, not because we think that Government appointments will transform the Non-Brahman communities into the most prosperous of mankind, but because Government appointments carry with them political power, of which, as lords of the soil and inheritors, of noble traditions, they must have their legitimate share. We have repeatedly pointed out that the future of the Non-Brahman communities lies in their own hands. As agriculturists, masters of industry and commerce and in other directions fresh efforts will have to be put forth by them, only they cannot give up political power and Government appointments as lying altogether beyond their province. If claiming political, social and moral equality with the Brahman of this Presidency is an offence we plead guilty to it."

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289. Rumours about Mrs.Besant.

(Dated 3rd June, 1917, Para 12, Page 1612.)

The following appears in the Non-Bahman for the week ending 3rd June:--Mrs Annie Besant is a superior being, and can afford to play with Governors and Members of Council. She is under the special protection of the Masters. She has abused Lord Pentland, Sir Alexander Cardew and Mr.Gillman. She has spared Diwan Bahadur P.Rajagopala Achariyar, but we suppose she is going to see whether he would resign his job if she is interned, else, why, he will have a lot of abuse too. That is the only way to secure the good opinion of New India, and that is the most widely circulated paper in India. Writing about her coming martyrdom, Mrs.Annie Besant writes: 'A casual descendant from the heights of Ooty has brought some 'news'. Naturally we cannot vouch for the truth of all details, not being in Government employ, but it might interest our readers, and in these hot days, for a little breezy relief they will feel grateful. Informs our friend, that whispers are going the official rounds that Mrs.Besant is to be interned. That, of course, we have heard before; but there is something more: Mr.C.P.Ramaswami Ayyar is going to be interned, but he is too popular and influences are at work to leave him alone. Mr.G.S.Arundale and Mr.B.P.Wadia are to be interned too, but they have no influence at the Court of His Excellency Lord Pentland, so there is no hope of escape for them. Who will thank us for this quick news? We hope at least Dame Rumour will pet us for thus serving her! But our morning contemporary has forestalled us.

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us. Just as we pen this, comes the Madras Times which writes on 'Repressive Measures' and concludes with a hint. 'Heroism is much cheaper now a days; and there is not much martyrdom in internment.' Hats off to the martyr who stands at the altar,"

In a leader under the heading "the Coming Storm" in New India of the 4th June, Mrs. Annie Besant, says:-- "His Excellency the Governor of Madras informed us that he was going to take measures against the agitation for Home Rule......At no Home Rule meeting has there been a trace of disturbance. Nothing has been said or done that even our harsh laws could touch. But where the law is kept inviolate, Executive orders can step in; and it is said that orders have gone out from Simla to crush political agitation.

"If this be so, we have an attempt on the part of the Government not to counteract a dangerous conspiracy, but to strike at the very root of civil liberty. The Home Rule agitation, as defined by Lord Pentland, is the scheme of the National Congress and the Muslim League, and is supported by all the most thoughtful politicians in the country, by the foremost of the elected members in the Legislative Council, and by every District Conference that has so far met since Christmas. To refuse to allow us to use the elementary right of advocating peaceably a change in the form of the Government of the country, especially at a time when all the Allied Western Powers declare that they are fighting against autocracy; to shut, by an Executive order, the mouths that no law closes; this is to arouse the indignation of all the civilised people in the world.

His Excellency Lord Pentland, Sir Alexander Cardew, Mr. Gillman and Mr. Rajagopala Achariyar claim, by their mere IPSE DIXIT, to rob India of free speech in political matters. . . The hope of the Executive is that Mrs. Annie Besant will be left alone, and that they can easily crush one person. They want to crush her for many reasons. It would check recruiting, and thus justify the Viceroy. It would prevent her from sending to England the full statement of her case against the press security confiscation. It would avoid another trial and the consequent public excitement. The idea seems to be to forbid her to speak or write on politics; if she does either, to drag her to the Police Court before a magistrate who, acting executively, may send her to gaol without trial; and leave no legal redress open. It is a pretty scheme.

"True, the press would calmour; but the Executive cares nothing for the press. True, there might be public meetings, but the Executive cares nothing for public opinion. After all, what can the people do? Well, they need not buy any English goods; Bengal touched the pockets of the English traders, and that undid the partition. They can persistently carry on the political agitation, despite the frowns of the Executive. They can let the world know what is going on in India, and so force England to stop autocracy here. It is destroyed in Russia; it is tottering in Germany; only under England's flag is it rampant, setting itself against the freedom of a whole nation. But America will speak for us, as she is speaking for Ireland. France will speak for us; Russia, setting Poland and Finland free, will speak for us. Shall these belong to the 20th century, while England belongs to the 18th? . . To obey

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the law made byx his representatives is the duty of they good citizen. To obey the law made in a Legislative Council, partially representative, is usually desirable. But Executive orders, depriving people of the normal freedom of civilised nations, have no moral authority behind them, and the good citizen may even find it his duty to resist them, as Hampden resisted the payment of ship-money. The method of resistance should be carefully thought out.

"Things were going on very quietly; the sudden aggression of the Executive is entirely unprovoked. Lord Pentland did not venture to face his Council with a proposal for a new law. He has chosen his time well, and obeyin, the impulse of the Madras Mail, the Madras Times and Justice, he has suddenly threatened harmless peopole who have been pinching themselves for his war loan, after all the exactions of the last three years. The spirit of the time is against him. He is giving the lie to his Chiefs in England. Lloyd George says that India must no longer be a subject race; Lord Pentland says she shall remain so and that the dream of her freedom must be given up. The gage of battle has been flung by him into the arena. But it is the righteous Judge who will give the final award."

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290. The Coimbatore District Conference.

(Dated 3rd June, 1917, Para 16, Page 1614.)

The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 3rd June, states:-- "Mrs.Besant is beating her breast most violently at present, abusing Non-Brahman leaders to her heart's content, because forsooth they asserted themselves at Coimbatore, rolled their eyes, and the Brahmans ran away. Mrs.Besant, as the custodian of Brahman interests, is very alarmed at this sign of Brahman retreat before Non-Brahman show of force. By the way, she loses an opportunity to address a gathering, to abuse Lord Pentland for his speech, and the rest of it. Here is what Mrs.Besant writes of the Non-Brahman demonstration of force at Coimbatore 'At a public meeting a Mr.Sambanda Mudaliyar was put in the chair; he would not allow discussion; he put a resolution not to hold the Conference, and declared it carried, against a majority--according to a report sent and then ran away! '....."A Mr.Sambanda Mudaliyar!" Because Mrs.Besant has not heard of him, he does not cease to be one of the foremost of our leaders. Mr. Sambanda Mudaliyar was the first member of the reformed council sent by the Coimbatore group, and he preserved the dignity of the community and of the Council. He has a following not only in Coimbatore but throughout the Presidency, and it is nothing but impertinence for Mrs.Besant to call him so. Pretty Annie shows her impatience at having lost a Conference, and would thus show her petulence. No, No, Madam, you should not be so easily excited, you must occassionally indent upon your divinity, and show more patience to the vulgar mankind below."

291. <u>The Madras Zamindars and Home Rule.</u>

(Dated 3rd June, 1917, Para 17, Page No.1614.)

The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 3rd June, observes:--"We pity the Madras Zamindars who are at present struggling with their accredited representative in the Viceroy's Council. The Hon'ble Mr.Rangaswami Ayyangar is a whole hogger in Home Rule, and is at present chaperoning Mrs.Besant in Trichinipoly, and he has come out to speak against Lord Pentland even more violently than Mrs,Annie Besant herself. And yet, we all know that the Zamindars of Madras are against Home Rule and against any violent changes and that they are prepared more to go with the Maharaja of Bikanir than with Mr.Tilak. But Mrs. Besant is able to quote the opinion of Mr. Rangaswami Ayyangar as that of the Zamindars of Madras. The very institution of election is thus shaken. We ask Mr.Rangaswami Ayyangar to circulate memorandum among his clients and publish it to the world, that they are for Home Rule. That would be an effective answer indeed to those who criticise him. Else it is the duty of a public spirited zamindar like Kuruppam WHO HAS NOW taken up arms to take referendum among the Zamindars on Home Rule and crush his late foe in the elections and in newspapers."

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292. **Lord Pentland's speech at the meeting of the Legislative Council.**

(Dated 29th May, 1917, Para 60, Page 1630.)

The Swadesamitran, of the 29th May, publishes a long communication from the pen of a correspondent, who makes the following general observations on this speech:-- Lord Pentland belongs to the liberal party in England. The doubt of those, who were eager to know how far the liberalism of his party was applied during his regime for the last five years, would have been cleared now. This country has seen many Governors before this, who shook off their liberalism the moment they ~~cpossed~~ crossed the ~~Siez~~ Suez Canal on their way from England, and who, though appreciating high ideals such as liberty and Home Rule, were drawn by the glamour of the inordinate powers possessed by the bureaucrats and argued that it was only a certain type of Government that would suit the eastern races. We have now understood that Lord Pentland, too, is one of such men. But it is regrettable that he should have openly expressed at the end of his regime to the effect that he had no confidence in the results of communal progress. He would have done better, if, without saying this explicitly, he had left it for us to guess the principles on which he conducted the administration. Some thought that he had no strength of mind and that he was acting according to the wishes of the official class. Some, who claim a personal knowledge of him, were saying that he had the strength of mind to insist upon getting everything ~~doen~~ done as he liked. There need be no further doubt hereafter about the priciples

on which he conducted the administration. ~~Some thought that he had no strength of mind and that he was acting according to the wishes of the official class.~~ Some, who claim a personal knowedge of him, were saying that he had the strength of mind to insist upon getting everything done as he liked. There need be no further doubt hereafter about the principles on which he conducted the administration and the strength of mind--some may call it pertinacity--with which he carried out his wishes. We have to presume that the administration has been conducted not only on the advice of his official colleagues but also according to his own judgment. But criticism was till now levelled only against his colleagues. The opinions expressed by Lord Pentland about the aspirations of the Indians or their agitation are far more excellent than those expressed till now by the provincial heads in Bombay, Punjab and other places. If he had stopped with stating that it would take a long time for us to achieve our object in the matter of obtaining Home Rule, no Indian would have case for complaint. It would have meant only a difference of opinion between him and us. It is not only our desire to have a purely elected Legislative Council and a wholly responsible Executive Council, but also our desire for a Legislative Council with an elected majority, and an Executive Council subordinate to it, that appears to be mischievous in the eyes of Lord Pentland. He says that no Indian having a kowledge of public questions and realising his responsibility will deem the former aspiration to be within range of practical politics. So, the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council and the leaders of the Congress and

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the Muslim League, who gave expression to such a wish, are, perhaps, in the opinion of Lord Pentland, men having no experience in public affairs and no sense of responsibility. Lord Pentland was evidently making fun when he stated that the authorities, to whom the representation of the nineteen had been sent, would give due consideration to them. We cannot agree with Lord Pentland in his view that the powers that he and the public leaders cannot, at this juncture, devote their attention to the constitution of the Government of India. Though the proposal of a Legislative Council with an elected majority is terrifying Lord Pentland, we need not be surprised at this reform being recommended by the Government of India and accepted by the Secretary of State. Another funny feature of Lord Pentland's speech is that he has sought the co-operation of the very gentlemen, who have, in the Congress and the Muslim League, initiated proposals of reform, in the adoption of certain measures which are intended to abate their own enthusiasm. Considering, also, the fact that these gentlemen were given no opportunity to accept or reject the appeal of His Excellency, it has to be stated that he was not justified in making it. No one will concede that if administrative matters are criticised, it is for the purpose of stirring up an agitation for Home Rule. The introduction of reforms cannot again be considered to be impossible or undesirable merely because excessive criticism is indulged in occasionally; nor can the steps taken, on that account, to curb and suppress the efforts, based on reasonable aspirations, for securing Home Rule, be approved. This aspiration is a legitimate one. That is why it was not suppressed, even though Lord Pentland did his best in the very beginning to suppress it. The desire for Home Rule is

spreading throughout the country. Not only the educated classes but all sections yearn for Home Rule. They feel that they will have to undertake great responsibilities after the war and are preparing themselves for it. But Lord Pent and says that the people should cast away the very idea of acquiring Home Rule from their minds. Was it to fulfil this object that the Maharaja of Bikanir was sent to England as the representative of India to express the opinion of the Indians! This makes it clear that Lord Pentland is not at all aware of the public feeling. Even Sir Edward Carson will not approve of his view. The former has stated that a great political revolution is taking place not only in England but throughout the Empire. Is not the sacrifice made by India on account of the war considerable? Is the amount contributed by the people of this Presidency for the war funds and the war loan a paltry one? Does Lord Pentland think very lightly of these? When every high official in the empire is speaking in one way, why should Lord Pentland alone speaking in different manner? Is it Lord Pentland's wish that, when all the countries of the empire are striving for Home Rule, this Madras Presidency alone should keep quiet listening to his advice?

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293. **Indians and Home Rule.**

(Dated 2nd June 1917, Para 84, page 1644)

A correspondent, calling himself the Indian Muslim writes a long letter to Dravidan of the 2nd June, condemning the aspiration of the Indians for Home Rule, in the course of which he makes the following observations:- The Indians who are now asking for Home Rule in the Congress and the Muslim League are the educated classes whose number is very small. The uneducated Indi[ans] do not know what is meant by Home Rule. So, if Home Rule is gran[ted] immediately it is only the educated classes that will be benefite[d] by it, and others will have to be subject to them. Of these educated classes, the number of those, who without any self-interests, want to work for the public good, is infinitesimally small. The grant of Home Rule, therefore, cannot but benefit a few and submerged many in Misery. That is why we object to its grant. It is a false statement that the Indians are all united now. The fact that the Congress and the Muslim League have become friends does not mean that all the Indians have become united. Then, again, the majority of even these educated classes are the Brahmans, and these Brahmans have not yet given up the habit of treating the other classes with contempt. That is why we say that the Indians are not yet fit for SWARAJ.

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294. **A lecture on Home Rule at Kumbakonam.**

(Dated 4th June 1917, Para 85, Page 1645).

The Swadesamitran, of the 4th June publishes in Tamil an abstract of a lecture delivered by Mr. A. Rangaswami Ayyangar, the editor of this paper, on the Home Rule creed ~~of the Editor on of this paper, on the Home Rule Creed~~ of the Congress and its critics under the auspices of the Kumbakonam, Congress Committee, and also of the remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr.V.K.Ramanuja Achariyar on the occasion in connection with the recent speeches of Lord Pentland.

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295. <u>His Excellency Lord Pentland's Speech against Home Rule Propaganda.</u>

(Dated May 30th 1917, Para 86, Page 1645)

The Andhraprakasika, of the 30th May says:- We ~~persued the~~ perused the speech of His Excellency the Governor several times. There is nothing in it to suggest that he condemns constitutional agitation. A resolution was passed in the Guntur District Conference to the effect that the Indians should not give up their constitutional agitation for the grant of Swaraj on colonial lines, although His Excellency opposed such agitation. The President of the Conference supported it strongly. Did His Excellency the Governor warn anybody against such agitation? Can the President conscientiously say that the speech of His Excellency contains such a warning? If His Excellency intended to suppress proper agitation, would he have allowed the Hon'ble Mr. Venkatapathi Raju to be the President of the Conference or the conference to be held?

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296. <u>The Madras Government and the Home Rule.</u>

(Dated the 29th May 1917, Para 127, page 1656).

In its leader under the heading "the Madras Government and the Home Rule," the Manorama of the 29th May, points out that nobody had known till now that His Excellency Lord Pentland was opposed to and hated the grant of self-government to India, fails to understand why a Provincial satrap should have thought to fit to express himself so strongly on the subject of self-government to India as a whole, which in His Excellency's opinion, would not be granted to her for a long time to come, and observes that these remarks coupled with His Excellency's threat that repressive measure would be resorted to, if certain societies should persist in carrying on this unnecessary and unlawful agitation, from which all respectable people, in His Excellency's opinion, should withdraw have produced considerable disappointment and unrest among the people, and that the result of the speech as a whole will be to unnecessarily wake up this Presidency which is sleeping quietly.

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297. **Mrs. Besant.**

(Dated the 3rd June, 1917, para 8, page 1684).

The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 3rd June writes:- "The halo of martyrdom is already on the head of Mrs. Besant . She has specially been maintaining a daily newspaper to publish rumours about her coming internment or deportation; and lest the Government should not deport her she is persistenly abusing the Government. Now Mrs. Besant is sure that the Government of Madras have been thinking only about her and of nothing else, and she writes over her signature a violent article, which is specially calculated to urge on her martyrdom."

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298. **Home Rule for India**

(Dated the 5th June 1917, Para 54, page 1698).

In the course of a leader under the heading "Home Rule" the Dravidan of the 5th June, makes the following observations: There is a loud cry raised in India for some times past that she should have Home Rule. If we, who cannot settle our internal dissensions amicably, are to govern, it is no more than building a castle in the air. The Brahmans whom we relied on for thousands of years past as our priests, submerged us in ignorance and were playing upon us conveniently. The difficulty that India had to suffer on account of this cannot be described. It is the establishment of the English rule in India that enables us to occupy the position we are now in. It is because the rulers are high souled Englishmen, that the cruel powers of the Brahman priesthood became ineffective. But all the same, as we slept away for a while, it is the Brahman that is occupying a higher position in every office and every mercantile concern now. Though the Congress is held in the name of the Public those who conduct the work are all Brahmans. The Non-Brahmans have all along been keeping aloof. It is only now that they have woke up and began to think about things. If, before they improve their knowledge, home Rule is granted, it will be a Brahman Rule that is given. Only a few lakhs of Brahmans will begin to

conduct the administration, while four crores of people will remain uncared for. The old drama will be played over again. So it is our definite opinion that, until our country becomes untied and our people understand matters and are able to think for themselves, we will not be fit to have Home Rule.

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299. **The Government of Madras and Home Rule.**

(Dated the June 6th 1917, Para 7, page 1745).

The Hindu, of the 16th June, observes:-"We welcome the Press Communique which was issued yesterday by the Government of Madras explaining His Excellency Lord Pentland's Speech at the last Council meeting chiefly for two reasons. It shows that the Government have appreciated the significance, strength and earnestness of the protests made against the pronouncement so far as to induce them to think that a statement explaining their attitude was necessitated by the circumstances.. .. .. .. The second reason why the communique will be welcomed is that it clears the mystery surrounding Lord Pentland's speech. It is really comforting to be told, what indeed should have been taken for granted but for the unfortunate vagueness of the speech, that "against self-government within the British Empire as the political ideal for India, or against "constitutional and educative efforts" for the ideal, they have offered no opposition. The legitimacy of that ideal and of such efforts is not disputed by them.I This is a commendable recognition of the right of the people to carry on political agitation for Home Rule or self-government and we are thankful to His Excellency's Government for reiterating their attitude which was understood to be held by them all along, but which the utterance of May last seemed ~~to be held by them all along, but which the utterance of May last seemed~~ and was taken widely to deny. .. .. .. But we see absolutely no reason why the Government should 'condemn strongly' the advocacy of self-government 'at the close of the war'. Any person is entitled to hold that India is fit for the Colonial form of self-government at the close of the war and he is equally within his rights in persua-

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ading his countrymen to hold that belief....The communique, then deals with certain methods which the Government say are employed by some of the advocates of political change and with the results of these methods. We are exceedingly pained to see that it is believed that "deliberate appeals are addressed, to the young and inexperienced to join in Public agitation, and thus are sown the seeds of indiscipline which may bear bitter fruit in time to come" It is to be feared that the Government are very much misinformed about this matter so far as we are aware, there are no attempts to withdraw youth from their duties as students: on the other hand they have been scrupulously kept out of active politics or propaganda, while, as future citizens of the country, they are encouraged naturally to study politics and attend political meetings. No responsible Indian or body of people would willingly consent to allow their boys to meddle with politics and it is surprising to find that the Government of Madras should have persuaded themselves to believe in the existence of any organised attempt to draw away students from their proper ~~shapre~~ sphere of work. It is, as we believe have an underground suspicion of that kind that has influenced the authorities in issuing the recent Government order concerning, students participation in political gatherings, but we have been repeatedly saying such a policy is fraught with mischief and evil consequences to the orderly and balanced development of students in this country. ....It is unwise and imprudent to adopt measures which will in any way shake the confidence of the people in the desire of Government to resort to open and legitimate methods of dealing with people who may have, in their opinion, offended the authorities. Indisputable necessity for coercive measures does not appear to be clear to the public notwithstanding the attempted justification. We hope the Government will continue a conciliatory policy and not inaugurate a terrorist regime."

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Writing on this subject, JUSTICE of the 16th June says:- "From the way in which some of the Politicians speak about Home Rule for India and about these who do not share their views, one would imagine that the conditions amidst which we now live are normal. That India has absolutely no concern or interest in the successful termination of the war and that she should absorb her energies in, and devote all her resources to, inducing the British Parliament to accept the scheme of Home Rule embodied in the memorandum of the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council, which whatever others might, say, in fact a demand for Home Rule. .. .. What India has done for Great Brittain in connection with this war under the guidance of the noblest and the most powerful of her sons is a matter of history. The various war funds and the war loan itself have demonstrated beyond any possibility of doubt that India is sound at heart and in thought and that at this time of trial and peril she would occasion no needless embarrassment at the British statesmen burdened with the cares and anxieties of a struggle in which the existence of the Empireitself is at stake. But as we have said, there are a few politicians who are so parochial in their views or so selfish in their political ambitions that all their public activities are now directed towards securing Home Rule for India. .. .. But this is not the time for for persistent and headlong agitation, again agitation such as would generate undue heat and excitement. No Scheme will ever be passed into law without consulting the representative of the people and against their express wishes and considered opinions. There is thus no need for defiance and loud professions and protestations of martyrdom. Such tactics will not succeed even though England is at grips with a determined inveterate and unscrupulous foe. .. .. With this declaration, i.e., the Communique of the Government of Madras on Home Rule of British policy in India we are in entire accord. The bulk of the population of India are illiterate, and they have a congeries of nations, with no common political heritage or basis of social action.

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The Hindus who form the majority of the population have been cut upinto innumerable castes with the priestly class at the head of the caste heirarchy. Even today the Hindus are under the tyranny of the usages and customs introduced and maintained by the higest castes. To add to this not less than fifty or sixty milli millions live outside Hindu society, whom that society in its arrogance still regards as untouchables and depressed classes. Who was responsible for putting millions of human beings into water-tight compartments? Who inculcated forstered and nourished the superstitions which now weigh down and enervate India's Millions? India had its chance. But on, the the high classes castes and the ancient lawgivers would never allow her sons to develop their manhood, their spirituality, and their independence to their fullest height. When the British came they found a people sunk in superstition, and they introduced the light of Western civilisation, with its basis of equality of opportunity and other social ideals. .. .. The very appeal to their sense of self-respect will now open their eyes and will enable them to realise for themselves tha Home Rule under the present circumstances will mean class or caste rule which their opening sense of self-respect would certainly condemn and that till they are sufficiently trained to understand their individual and social rights the British Government should remain in authority if only to direct their infant steps as an emancipated people."

The INDIAN PATRIOT, of the 15th June, writes:-"We publish elsewhere an important press communique issued by the Government of Madras. In view of the intense agitation raised over the speech of His Excellency Lord Pentland, we are glad that the communique has been issued. There is no doubt that Lord Pentland's speech was liable for the construction put upon it, as a wholesale attack on constitutional agitation, by those who perpetually look upon the faults of Government with magnifying glasses; and there is no denying the fact the fact that the Governor's speech was unnecessarily harsh. At the same time no sober thinker will hesita

hesitate to condemn any unnecessary and undeserved criticism of the Government Nothing is added to the cause of progress by unnecessarily blackening the Government and by open defiance of imaginary repression which describes in the communique. But we have not much to expect from a prolonged discussion about the correct lines of political agitation between the Government of Madras and the Indian Press. Everything is yellow to the jaundiced eye, and ~~Government~~ this is as much true of Government as of the people. The question before the Government is whether it is of opinion that the present agitation is dangerous; if it considers it dangerous, why then, it must act; if it is not dangerous, there is harm in trying to make it dangerous by speeches in the Legislative Council and press Communiques telegraphed from Ootacamund."

The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 20th June, remarks: "It was hardly necessary for the Madras Government to issue their Press Communique defining their attitude to political agitation. If Lord Pentland's speech was deliberately misunderstood in certain quarters and sentiments read into it which His Excellency did not mean, the Government are not to blame. No number of Government Press Communiques can convince critics who refused to be convinced and the Madras Government may well have spared themselves the trouble of issuing one. His Excellency will have observed that his Ootacamund's speech was welcomed by the more sober and responsible section of the press a necessary and opportune assurance by the head of the Government as to their attitude ~~as a necessary and opportune assurance by the head of the Government as to their attitude~~ to political agitation. It was clar and pointed, and there was no mistaking the spirit of that speech. The Key-note of it was that self government was the salt and strength of the British Empire and all aspirations to attain that ideal in any part of the Empire would be looked upon as legitimate and reasonable.....No Government least of all the liberty-loving British, will care to tell a people that political subjection is to be their permanent lot in life and should be cherished as their ideal. Years ago Macauly declared in terms of noble eloquence that it would be a proud day for

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England when she could lea e Indians to manage their own affairs, after England in India. Thus defined by Lord Mecauly has been steadily kept in view and is being realised in a way which could not have been dreamt of even by the most sanguine of India's friends half a century ago.......If the Madras Government caution the agitators to remember the truth that national advancement cannot be had in a moment they ought not to be understood as setting their face against national advancement and trying to smother all legitimate efforts towards it. But they cannot be expected to countenance mischievous agitations and calculated misrepresentations made under the guise of national self-respect or individual patriotism. It is neither patriotism nor political sagacity to be blind to the difficulties in the way and talk and act as if self-rule could be plucked from a tree by merely stretching one's hand, and it is the British Government which hold the hand back... A few impatient idealists cannot expect to convert the rest of India and also the Government to thinking with them that the country is fit to rule itself today. It may be fine frenzy, but it is not practical politics. Fine frenzy may be good for stage-effect but it has no place in the ordered progress of the world. Those who decline to join their ill-considered propagandist work are set down as unpatriotic. But men who have been silently labouring all these years without thought of any reward and at great sacrifice to bring about a closer understanding between England and India, so that the latter may advance under the guidance and protection of the former, can afford to ignore the taunts of a handful agitators who with an exception or two are nobodies in the political life of the country and who no more represent responsible public opinion in India than the three tailors of Tooley Street represented the citizens of London."

8. The Karnataka, of the 16th June, has the following:- "The political firmament in Madras continues to be dark and full of ~~protec~~ portents. All true-hearted and farseeing Imperialists grieve to see that the Government of Lord Pentland refused to be

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299. The Government of Madras and Home Rule.

(Dated the June 16th, 1917, para 8, page 1748).

The Karnataka, of the 16th June has the following:- "The political firmament in Madras continues to be dark and full of portents. All true-hearted and farseeing Imperialists grieve to see that the Government of Lord Pentland refused to be self-introspective and to see things in their proper perspective. In trying to re-explain their attitude towards the Home Rulers, who are already exasperated by His Excellency's Ootacamund speech and his now famous order No.559 -- copied by the Government of Bombay -- the Government of Madras have only added fuel to the fire--the fire of indignation at injury done to the Empire's ideal of liberty.... None but the Government of Madras can ~~have only~~ know what justification there is for taking such an alarming view of the situation. The men and the one woman connected with the work of freedom in Madras are all law-abiding loyal, and God-fearing persons and if their language has been strong and uncompromising, they have sufficient excuse for it in the greatness of their cause and the greatness of the obstacle which they have to overcome....Feeble, namby-pamby utterance may do very well for courtiers and for polished gentry. But when a great ideal has to be preached to the crowd and embozoned upon its heart, the speaker must necessarily adopt an arresting and forceful style. ......Considering all things, one cannot help saying that the Government of Madras are suffering from a heated imagination. We feel sure that all loyal and law-abiding citizens can know their duty to their country and their King without any guidance from the Government and that their loyalty and faith in the British will not be affected even in the least by these exhibitions of bureaucratic wrath."

299. The Madras Government and Home Rule.

(Dated 16th June 1917, para 9, page 1748).

The Hindu, of the 16th June, writes: Since writing the article on the communique issued by the Government of Madras on Home Rule'

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was received information that Mrs. Besant had an interview with His Excellency the Governor to-day at about 1 p.m. It transpires that His Excellency told her that the Goernment intended to put a stop to all her activities. (His Excellency the Government ø to-day at about 1 p.m. It transpires that His Excellency told her that the Government intended to put a stop to all her activities) His Excellency had no proposals to make but asked Mrs. Besant whether she had any to make. Mrs. Besant said she had none, she had nothing to withdraw or explain. His Excellency gave Mrs. Besant time to consider, which she said was not necessary. His Excellency asked whether she would see him to-morrow, to which Mrs. Besant said that she would rather not trouble His Excellency. Then she asked leave to withdraw and the interview terminated.

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We have received the news of the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant, and Messrs. G.S.Arundale and B.P.Wadia with deep surprise and astonishment, and it will be received with profound regret and dissatisfaction throughout the country. The Defence of India Act is primarily a war measure and with all due respect to the inscrutable wisdom of our paternal Government the logic of whose actions like the peace of God passeth all understanding we have failed to convince ourselves that the internment of these three persons will serve to bring the present unhappy war to a victorious conclusion or induce Germany forthwith to acknowledge defeat. We have to defer further comment upon the tremendous issues raised by the orders."

Writing further on this subject, the HINDU of the 18th June says:- "It is an irony of faete and a fact of gloomy significance that the day on which India learnt on of the statesmanlike announce-ment of the release of Irish Prisoners in connection with the recent rebellion in Ireland in view of the forth-coming Conventions should have also heard of the internment of Mrs. Besant, and Messrs. B.P.Wadia should have also heard of the internment of Mrs. Besant, and Mxxxx Messrs. B.P.Wadia and G.S.Arundale. These two circumstanc

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circumstances, of great and world-wide importance, afford a striking study in contrast and thoughtful people in this country cannot but draw the most disheartening conclusions from them....May we ask what has happened in India or in Madras in Particular, which has rendered the inauguration of repressive measures, a matter of urgency? Ireland, embittered disloyal and revolutionary--it is deemed necessary to conciliate and satisfy India, peace-loving loyal and law-abiding--it is pleased the authorities to attempt to cow down by the adoption of a policy quite contrary in spirit...... The law under which action has been taken is a war measure, meant principally to arm the authorities with power to act in a summary manner with enemies and undesirable aliens. It cannot be pretended that the persons who have fallen victims of the present instance have either by word, act or deed manifested the least sympathy with German aims; on the contrary, they have been known to be earnest and sincere in contributing their might to the noble attempt to put on end to Prussianism.....The public are quite unaware as to how the Government have come to the conclusions that in regard to the persons on whom orders of internment were served on Saturday last there are reasonable grounds for believing that they had acted and were about to act in a manner prejudicial to public safety. ~~the Public are q~~ The grounds of such belief are not given and it is really astonishing that no attempt was made to apprise them of the offences for which they were to be interned or to take any explanation from them. The orders were served to be interned or to take any explanation from them. The orders were served on Messrs. Wadia and Arundale earlier in the day and no body in the charmed circle of Government has been charged with the the duty of telling them why it was astonished and alarmed the public.... ~~The interference, therefore, is irresistible the Defence of India Act~~ The matter may appear to Government to be simple but the application of a war measure to cases of persons engaged in work for constitutional changes in the machinery of Government, not only exposed the deplorable weakness of the Government's case,

but raises a most important issue. Such an unwarranted application of an emergency measure strikes a blow at popular agitation which is fraught with the gravest danger to the public cause as well as to the prestige of the to the public cause as well as to the prestige of the Government. For, there is no mistaking it that the internments in Madras devoted workers for the public cause, is meant to discourage the agitation for Home Rule or self-government and the anxiety and anguish caused in the Public mind have as a consequenee never been surpassed. What appears to be particularly lacking in magnanimity when dealing with Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Wadia and Arundale is the prohibition, as we take it, of having their published books sold, and therefore of depriving them of their income. ......The action of the Government of Lord Pentland will be received with profound grief and disappointment throughout the civilised world; and indications of widespread disapprobation and indignation with which the deprivation of the liberty of Mrs. Besant and her devoted co-workers is viewd, are already reaching us. ..... Our sorrow is all the greater, because this step has been taken at this time when India is contributing her best towards the victorious termination of the war when new hopes are neter-tained in the land and when the necessity for conciliating public opinion must be obvious to sound statesmanship is manifest. The internment of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers is particularly unfortunate decision which will be widely interpreted as a hostile act directed against a movement which has met with much popular support which she has led with singular self-sacrifice, ability and intrepidity. She had brought to bear on the agitation all her remarkable qualities of eloquence perseverance and ~~on the ground agitation all her remarkable qualities of eloquence, perseverance~~ and boldness, and one need not agree with her always to appreciate her admirable courage, as her great powers of organistaition, her disinterestedness and her striking personality. The cause for which she has been working so zealously is sure to suffer, as soon as her guiding hand is forcibly removed, but she believes in her robust optimism in the ultimate triumph of the cause. ~~In the~~

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of the cause. In the enforced retirement to which she must shortly go, she has been deprived of the means of subsistence to which she must shortly go, she has been deprived of the means of subsistence by the prohibition to have her books sold. Apart from the ungraciousness of the Act the duty of Indians for whom she has laboured so gloriously, is clear. It is to raise a fund for her, such a fund as will unmistakably show to the world how wonderfully she gained a place in the hearts of Indians how warmly the Indians recognise her sterling merits and work. We associate ourselves whole heartedly with the important appeal for funds made in another column by our revered and respected countryman Sir S. Subrahmaniya Ayyar.....Public life in this country is, it must be confessed, still unorganised to a great extent; public service is still ~~thank-ful~~ thankless, in some measure as a consequence. But Indians cannot do better at this unfortunate moment than to show their ~~gratitud~~ gratitude for the eminent lady who suffers for them, but respondin adequately to our revered countryman's appeal and learn a much-needed lesson in sacrifice."

299. The Madras Government and Home Rule.

(Dated the 18th June 1917, para8, page 1750)

The Indian Patriot, of the 18th June, remarks:"We are very much pained at the news of the internment of Mrs. Besant Mr. Wadia and Mr. Arundale. We cannot say we are altogether surprised at this for there can be no doubt that His Excellency's speech in the Legislative Council and the order of Government we published on Saturday have made it clear that the agitation specially aimed at was that of which Mrs. Besant was the centre. Among Mrs. Besant Besant's many activities was undoubtedly political agitation, and the Government have not been able to look with approval on that agitation. There can be no doubt that Mrs. Besant commands a large following among educated Indians. They are attached to her by ties of affection and reverence. There are many features in Mrs. Besant character which are bound to ensure to her the respect, homage and enthusiastic following of thousands of educated Indians.

The Government felt that they found in her influecne a force antagonistic to its own. There has never been for some time any agreement between the Government and Mrs. Besant.

. . Nevertheless, we are bound to say that of late Mrs. Besant has been moderating her tone and perhaps if she had been left to herself she would have modified her tone and language in order to suit the susceptibilities of the Government. . . The Government are certainly responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and it is not possible to say that they have no right to take steps which they consider necessary in order to achieve that end. We sincerely regret that it should have been necessary for Government to take this action against Mrs. Besant and her co-workers. Mr. Arundale has given up politics as announced by Mrs. Besant herself and Mr. Wadia has been a loyal lieutenant of Mrs. Besant and is not likely to do anything independently of Mrs. Besant's advice and co-operation. Would it not have been better for Government to have allowed the warning conveyed in the press communique issued last Saturday and waited longer before they resolved to proceed against Mrs. Besant? . . . . As we have said the Government are entitled to form their own judgment and to shape their action in accordance with the necessity which they clearly see before them and we wish that they could carry the entire public opinion of the Presidency with them. Of this, however, we have not very great hopes.. There are many who do not agree with Mrs. Besant's views; there are many who positively hate the violence of force with which she carried on her work. But who can deny the love which she gave us? What was her motive? What has been her sacrifice? She has brought to India to message of work and suffering which will never be forgotten and which will ever preserve for her a place in the minds of Indians along with the late Mr. Hume and Sir William Wedderburn. . Determination for work and resources to see the work through

have enabled her, in a very short time, to do single handed what could not be done by a number of people during many years. Her work of philanthrophy is almost unrivalled; even as children cry when their mother is dead will go forth the wail of many a school boy who will find himself suddenly thrown out of the school by her internment. India today feels gratitude for the great woman who has poured forth her heart in love for its upliftment, and whose example shines out in unrivalled brilliance. . . . The Government are prepared to employ powers which they possess to end an agitation which in their opinion is calculated to endanger peace and order. On the other side, it will not be admitted that there is any danger from agitation which is legitimate and lawful There is force in the contention that in a time of war everything calculated to . . . . . . (Contd..)

distract thoughts of men should be avoided but all men are not able to think alike in this matter, and many people have followed, ~~but all men are not able to think like in this matter, and many people have followed~~ Mrs. Besant. Government are absolute judges of what is wise and unwise, and we cannot but regret that the illustrious lady should have come into conflict with authority. Mrs. Besant loves India passionately. With her influence and resources she should be a valuable influence on the side of Government but for the present, Government believe that there are features of her work which they cannot permit."

Referring to Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar's appeal for subscriptions to a fund for presentation to Mrs. Besant, the Indian Patriot, of the 19th June observes:- "Whatever might be the political opinion of people -- the Indian Patriot did not always see eye to eye with Mrs. Annie Besant her great services to India cannot be forgotten and this great opportunity should be utilised to raise a monster fund which Mrs. Besant would most surely employ for the good of India for which she has done so much--probably she might work up her scheme of national education. This would be a practical way of showing our appreciation of the great worker. In the meanwhile her internment is being commented upon by the press of India in the usual style--the Anglo-Indian press gloating over it, the Indian press mourning over it. We read that moderate leaders are joining the Home Rule League, and we may soon hear of public meetings whence the voice of the responsible leaders will be heard. At this hour Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar's suggestion to give more practical turn to the agitation than mere speeches of protest must be welcomed."

Justice, of the 20th June, states: "From what the Indian politicians say one would imagine that home rule is the only question before the Government and the people of India at this moment. The great war in which the empire is engaged, social reform, the industrial and agricultural development of India, the elevation of the depressed classes, and other subjects of the kind are held to

to be questions of no consequence. The politician asks his countrymen to concentrate all their efforts on home rule for India. According to him Home Rule means the millienieum.

"But there are sober and wise men in the country who have a responsibility in the matter. These are extra-ordinary times, and it is their duty to come forward and do their duty. The politician may long for the sweets of power. That is natural. But this is a time for strengthening the hands of the Government. Those who have real stakes in the country and are anxious to ensure its future progress and prosperity should make their views on the present situation known. It is satisfactory to know that Non-Brahman Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians in this Presidency as a class have practically stood aloof from the agitation against the Madras Government for their action against Mrs. Besant. Of course the weak, the unwary and the illiterate may be captured by clever devices. But so far, such tactics have not been quiet successful. Non-Brahmans as such have no interest or share in the home rule agitation, and they should let it alone. There is then the question of the invasion of popular liberties. The Government have done no such thing, and we need protest only if they do so. But liberty should never be allowed to degenerate into license. We know what that means in private or social life. Let us bear that in mind in our political discussions as well."

The Hindu of the 20th June, writes:- "The Anglo-Indian Press in the country is jubilant over the internment of Mrs. Besant. It has never had a good word to say of any one of British Birth who showed a leaning towards supporting the aspirations of the Indian people. It made a fierce attack on Mr. A.O. Hume in the early days of the National Congress. Sir Henry Cotton was the object of its invective and denunciation as long as he lived for his outspoken sympathy and support of the constitutional movement in India. Viceroys of the stamp of Lord Ripon and Lord Hardinge have been attacked in violent language by the Anglo-Indian Press for such sympathy as they showed towards Indian political aspirations. Ever

measure of Indian Political reforms has to run the gauntlet of a strong opposition by the Anglo-Indian Press, which is in standing antagonism to the views of the Indian Press.....A local Anglo-Indian paper (The Madras Mail) that gloats over the internment order against Mrs. Besant frankly accuses educated Indians of Machiavellianism, in regard to their attitude towards her activities. They are virtually convicted out of their own mouths of Hypocrisy, dissimulation, and double dealing. We do not know who these estimable persons are who have chosen to take into confidence a mentor who does not disdain to betray the same, and to turn round and declare roundly:- "We have before this ventured to warn educated Indians against this kind of futile Machiavellianism, the "united front" with any amount of disunion behind it, the backing of any one, be it Mr. Tilak or Mrs. Besant, who happens to be belabouring the bureaucracy, when the backers know the attack to be unfair." If there are any among Indian Politicians who are prone to adopt this species of tactics of carrying nefarious information to an adversary, our contemporary knows more of them than we are aware of to indulge in the sweeping sinister generalisation which is made.....Those who protested against the internment order by Madras Government will not be deterred from doing their duty by the shafts of envenomed criticism and cheap sneers aimed at them such as "that unanimity which is expected to overawe the Government" 'Hardly ten percent are in full agreement with her policy' and so on. ~~It is marvellous that men of British agreement with her policy' and so on.~~ It is marvellous that men of British birth should rejoice on an occasion when the principles of freedom of person and of property, the liberty of the press and freedom of speech and writing all of which fundamental and much valued rights have been violated by an executive order passed under the Defence of India Act, in the case of fellow citizens."

The South Indian Mail, for the Week ending 18th June says:-" " The news has reached us that orders of internment have been served on Mrs. Besant, Mr. G.S.Arundale and Mr. B.P.Wadia on Saturday

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last Saturday the 16th June 1917 will be recorded as the darkest day in the annals of Indian History and will be looked on as the day when the death-knell of constitutional agitation not to say of personal liberty, has been rung by one of the Liberals in English politics who has tried to understand the country for almost five years, but failed, failed in the most conspicious manner.

"Mrs. Besant will be interned. Not because she has proved a traitor. Not because she is an enemy alien. Not because she has joined the enemies nor has been proved communicating with them. But what have been her doings? She is more loyal than the most loyal. Above all she has made the cause of Indian aspiration her cause and has exposed the weakness, prejudices, selfishness, and the inefficiency of the bureaucracy in all their nakedness......Looking at the way in which they have picked out the three persons it leads to a suspicion that New India has been sought to be silenced or stopped on account of its relentless and unsparing criticism of the Bureaucracy and of its persistent and convincing arguments for India's fitness for Home Rule or Self-Government."

Indian Patriot of the 20th June states:- "We sincerely hope that the Anglo Indian Press will realise its responsibility and forbear unnecessary and harsh comments on the internment of Mrs. Besant. There is no doubt that the country is very much exercised over the affair, and there is no necessity for whipping up the people. The champions of repression have succeeded. Let them ~~congratura~~ congratulate themselves, but they need not exult. We hope that even they realise the resentment which has been roused in the country. It is only very few that have been closely following Mrs. Besent, and have differred from her, criticised her, called her activities misplaced or even violent--and even these few are not prepared to acknowledge the necessity for this extreme Measur To the millions Mrs. Annie Besant is a great lady who took upon herself a noble task and has suffered for India. Let Anglo-India realise what a grateful people might feel for such a woman. The Government of madras have taken a great step. The people are ~~pro~~

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protesting but except constitutional agitation, there will be nothing. To exult over situation is nothing short of criminal irresponsibility."

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300. The Government of Madras and Home Rule.

(Dated 20th June 1917, Para (2), page 1753).

The Wednesday Review, for the week ending 20th June, remarks:- "It is regrettable that the Home Rule agitators should have forced the hands of the Madras Government and action had to be taken ~~again~~ against Mrs. Besant under the Defence of India Act. Mrs. Besant was given an opportunity to tone down her methods of spreading the Home Rule cult: but she refused to take it and the Government were left no other alternative but to proceed against her under the Act. No self-respecting Government conscious of their strength of their duty towards the large majority of the people entrusted to their care can afford to sit quiet and allow a mischievous agitation to spread. We are grateful to Mrs. Besant for the good she was doing to the country when her activities were confined to religion and Theosophy. The religious awakening which has enabled ~~Id~~ Indians to appreciate the worth of their religions was largely due to her efforts. But her entry into politics was unfortunate and it has brought on troubles which another, less emotional and more alive to the realities of the situation, would have avoided. Lord Morley has said that politics are a field where action is one long second best, but second bests will never appeal to a temperament like Mrs. Besant's. Political leadership demands qualities which Mrs. Besant evidently lacks in. It demands forbearance and foresight, a correct appreciation of existing facts, a capacity to appraise the materials available at their real worth, the insight to know what to ask and when to ask for it, and above all a readiness to accept half a loaf when the full loaf cannot be had. No body questions the motives which lie behind her tempestuous activities and the magnitude of her sacrifice for the country of her adoption. But the sacrifice is not of much practical help to us. The late Mr. Malabari

used to say that if somebody offered to throw himself from the top of the Kutab Minar in the name of his motherland, we might appreciate the spirit of so awful a sacrifice, but it would do small good to her. Mrs. Besant's sacrifices for our political advancement, whatever their magnitude, are mostly of this description. It is still open to her to go back to her old activities and continue the good work she was doing until the time when she entered the doubtful field of political journalism which is surely not her ~~fort~~ forte.

The West Coast Reformer, of the 20th June, observes:-"After a deal of rumbling and lightening in the political horizon, the thunderstorm of repression has burst. Lord Pentland's discouraging speech at Ootacamund was followed by an explanatory Press Communique which served to confirm the proposal of adopting repressive measures. ...... The idea of her internment was suspected if not invited by Mrs. Besant herself in her ø recent speeches and writings even before the public had reasons to suspect the probability of such ~~surroundings~~ proceedings. We cannot see what purpose her internment will serve, either from her point of view or from the point of view of the Government. ...... Repression defeats its object. The unconvincing nature of it is all the ø worse for the application of the Defence of India Act, since the order states merely that the personal freedom of the three individuals is prejudicial to the public safety, and the little enlightenment ~~that the public safety, and the little enlightenment~~ that the public have got on the nature of their offence is only by an in~~ter~~ference from the Press communique and the Governor's speech preceding the internment orders. When even the disinterested decisions of the highest courts of law, delivered after a fair public trial, sometimes fail to satisfy the public and the accused, it is not difficult to understand that the summary proceedings of the Executive Government in these political ~~trail, sometimes fail to~~ cases cannot carry conviction with the public. ... ...Mrs. Besant is admired and respected all over the ~~world~~ India for her indomitable energy, self-sacrifice and enthusiasm in religious, educational philanthropic and political

undertakings and since her entry into Home Rule politics, her following in the country has largely increased. She is also well-known in many other countries on account of her position in the literary and the Theosophical world. Her intellectual brilliance and honesty of purpose are of the highest order. It is difficult and painful to think of Mrs. Besant spending her days in the idleness of internment."

New India of the 22nd June writes:-"The public meeting held last evening at the Gokhale Hall was unique in the history of our national struggle for several reasons. In the first instance, we are sure that at no time have so many leaders from all parts of the Province rushed to the metropolis for single public meeting ....If the meeting had been held a day or two later, the stream from the muffasal would surely have been far more voluminous, as is shown by the contents of the telegrams read at the meetng. Secondly, we desire to emphasise its representative character from the standpoint daily emphasised by our enemies--the caste or the racial differences. One of the Directors of the South Indian People's Association, Mr. Gurusami Chettiar spoke yesterday on the protest resolution and among those who came from the mofassal were a number of non-Brahmana leaders. We are surely nor surprised at their presence, though the Government will doubtless be. Yesterday's gathering has given us a very prompt indication of the growing unity of the nation under the heel of repression......There is a widespread desire--inevitably it expressed itself yesterday--to take the Swadeshi vow at this crisis, and that it is perfectly essential to take it, has been emphasised again this morning by the Madras Times by its adverse criticisms. The unanimous acceptance of that part of the Second resolution indicates the determination of the Madras people to give a practical turn to our protests, and whatever Anglo-Indian journals may say, this country seems resolved to give a fresh impetus to the Swadeshi movement."

The Hindu of the 22nd June, says:- "Yesterday's unprecendented gathering of the people of the Madras Presidency to protest against the orders of internment of Mrs. Besant, Mr. Wadia and Mr. Arundale was preceded by a remarkable communication of the Madras Government conveyed to the organisers of the meeting by the Collector of Madras that it was the desire of the Government that the meeting should not take place ~~(reprehensible language)~~ though they did not wish to prohibit it, and that if it take place, reprehensible language should not be used. We cannot profess to understand the propriety of such a communication being made by the Government to responsible Indian publicists who organised the meeting in the city of Madras headed by that venerable Indian Leader, Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar, except on the principle referred to by Lord Acton, that the Golden opportunity of making intolerance ridiculous could not be neglected." ...... We wish indeed that at such times as these, the Governor and his Councillors instead of living far away on the Blue Hills were at Madras to witness or to hear promptly at first hand the ebullition of popular feeling and excitement even in the torpid atmosphere of the city of Madras which has been aroused by their recent measures. The accounts which reached us from the Mofassal and which are daily appearing in these columns and elsewhere of the public meetings held in connection with the internment orders and Lord Pentland's speech which preceded the same, show the intensity of popular feeling in the matter, which it must be admitted is far more virile, demonstrative, and prompt in finding expression than in the metropolis. .... It is a gratifying sign of the times that the meeting turned out ~~xx~~ to be a magnificient success. It was due not only to the grant personality of Mrs. Besant, and to the transparent injustice of the orders of internment passed against her and her devoted co-workers, but also to the great national cause of Home Rule or self-government for India, the sense of the value of which has become part of the fibre of most thoughtful and educated Indians in the country. The proceedings of the meeting held yesterday bear emphatictestimony to this fact, of which the Government of Lord

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Pentland as well as that of ~~xxx~~ Lord Chelmsford would do well to perceive the significance. .. .. ~~The act of repression about one wonderfully good result~~. It is unifying this country on the most ~~x xxx~~ vital question of its regenerations, and is stimulating dormant minds to a wakeful sense of national duty and practical action."

Justice of the 22nd June remarks:-"The bulk of the population of this Presidency, are illiterate, and even among the literate minority those who take an active interest in public affairs are very few. Most of them pursue their own occupations unmindful of the doings and utterances of the Politician. But the politician imagines that he is in telepathic communication with every man in the country, - at all events those with whom he holds communion know, he thinks, what is passing in the hearts of the silent millions. No wonder, therefore, that he tries to make out that the whole population are now sitting in judgment upon the recent of the Madras Government.

"We have said practically nothing about the internment orders. But we cannot approve of some of the tactics adopted to condemn the action of the Government. We hold it improper to defy the authority of the Government. Nor is it wise, in our opinion, to persevere defiantly in any course which the Government for the time being declare as unlawful. Does any responsible citizen think that the intelligent and respectable people of this Presidency would sanction such a course? We are in our own way as jealous and watchful gaurdians and defenders of popular liberties as any body else in this country. But the same liberty of thought and expression we must avail ourselves of to give publicity to our own views, . We are against Home Rule for India at this moment. Knowing the history of India as we do, we do not want microscopic minority to rule over this continent before at least a reasonable proportion of its population are enlightened and public-spirited enough to make their influence felt in the councils of the Government. ..... In spite of Mr. Kesava Pillai, we repeat that Non-

Brahman Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians should not at the present moment take part in the Home Rule agitation. Home Rule they are bound to have at the proper time, and they must labour for it now, not by joining the present unhealthy agitation, by by means of education, by carrying out social reforms, by developing the ~~xxx~~ resources of the country, by associated effort in several spheres of public activity and generally by training themselves assidiously in the art of responsible Government. So soon as the war is over, we shall certainly have a liberal instalment of political reforms which, we hope and trust, will enable ~~xxxx~~ every class, caste and community to get the necessary training for exercising the higher and more ~~respectable and~~ responsible functions of the Government."

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300. The Madras Government and Home Rule.

(Dated 16th June 1917, para 10, page 1756)

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In a leader on this subject, the West Coast Spectator, the 16th June, says:- "The campaign of calumny by the Anglo-Indian press is entirely directed towards the educated classes, and the scribes opposite have sedulously been making the world believe that to find an anarchist one has only to scratch an Indian ~~nationa~~ nationalist. One Anglo-Indian paper insinuated only the other day that Mr. Gandhi was responsible for the case of incendiarism and lawlessness in the indigo district in Behar! No leader, however disinterested or respected, is safe from the poisoned drats of the mad mullas of the Anglo-Indian Press.....We are constantly told that if we care to have orderly peaceful development and care to live in a terrestrial utopia in the distant future, probably a Thousand years hence, we should pin our faiths in our masters who like the King, can do no wrong and have come to this land of regret on a holy mission. Woe unto those who refuse to accept this counsel; neither respectability nor age woul[illegible] give them protection from pin-pricks and vile abuse. As we [illegible] already said, his great age, high respectability, consumma[illegible]owledge of th e

world and unsullied public services, have not given Sir Subrahmany Ayyar the protection he is entitled to; he is senile, rattling nonsense in his dotage and therefore to be treated, we suppose, though not exactly like a lunatic, but as one in his second childhood.......Insults heaped on good old 'Mani Ayyar' who was responsible along with the late W.C. Banerjee Allan Octavian Hume and Dadabhoy for the creation of that grandest monument of Indian political activity and talent--the National Congress--are regarded as insults heaped on educated India. They are fools who think that any amount of frenzied writing or ridicule or perfervid exhortations will persuade us to break loose from our ~~friends~~ tried and sincere leaders, the heroes of a hundred political fights who have through good report and evil report manfully remained by their countrymen's cause. They are the best assets of British Rule in this country and when one sees them assailed or ridiculed one feels sorry for the imbecility of the attacking gang who were probably in their swaddling clothes when the objects of their attacks were in the heyday of their glory. However, these vilifications and campaigns of calumny can have only one result: they further raise the leaders in the estimation of their countrymen and strenghen the cause and propaganda they st[and] for.....We are convinced that the present strength of the Home [Rule] movement in this country is the direct consequence of the calu[mny] and abuse flowing galore. Misguided official zeal, every blunde[r] the official ~~and a~~ commits and ~~ei~~ every act of repression brin[gs] in additional strength to the Home Rule camp. If they are wise they would leave the Home Rulers severely alone, of course so long as they do not transgress the laws, they would rally the M[ode]rates and encourage those legitimate aspirations which are log[ical] consequence of Britain's work in this country. Indians are ~~out~~ n[ot] going to give up their aspirations to satisfy a handful of 'fri[ends'] they are so far advanced as to differentiate between real frien[ds] and foes in friends's disguise, and it is futile to expect them to swallow the clap-trap dishes by their 'candid friends.'"

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300. Government of Madras & Home Rule.

(Dated 17th June 1917, Para 11, Page 1757).

The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 17th June, has the following:- "Our congratulation to Mr. Rangaswami Ayyangar, Has become the the Organising Secretary of the Home Rule Leagues. He has now arrived one foot short of heaven, and we wish him success. He is riding at the top of the wave of fortune. One morning he woke to find himself elected the representative of the zamindars, and he is now telling every one that x every zamindar is a Home Ruler. We suppose every one will soon come out as soon as he has learnt by heartx the speeches after the Mani Ayyar Ramanuja Achari model. This zamindar youth who talked at the Trichinopoly Conference some time ago thinks that he is next to Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar and is talking big. We hope that some elders will draw this man before he oversteps the bond."

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300. Government of Madras and Home Rule.

(Dated the 17th June 1917, Para 12, Page 1757)

The following appears in the Non-Brahman for the week ending 17th June:-"There is no one to call Mr. Narasimha Ayyar to order in the columns of newspapers and he has had two columns to his heart's content. He has had his say, and has only to fix on to his head the crown of martyrdom. Poor Narasimha Ayyar, he must have taken a long time to write it, but there is no doubt that he has considerably enhanced himself in the opinion of men of his ilk, who will admire him. As for his invitation to His Excellency to penalise him, and to harass him, we shall give our word for it that Mr. Narasimha Ayyar need not fear anything. The Government surely know his worth. If he should grow dangerous, we would suggest his being made a visitor to the Salem lunatic asylum."

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300. Government of Madras & Home Rule.

(Dated 20th June 1917, para 13, Page 1757).

Justice, of the 20th June, writes:- "In commenting on the language used by Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar as president

Home Rule League about Lord Pentland's speech and its effect, the BENGALEE observes: 'The fact is significant of the deep feeling which has been roused throughout the country and among the all sections of our people.' This observation is really in the strain of Lord Macauly's 'every schoolboy knows.' So far as the Madras Presidency is concerned we can assure our ~~Beng~~ Bengal contemporary that seven-eighths of the population of this presidency are not really ready to subscribe to the views of the learned knight who had some time acted as the Chief Justice of Madras."

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301. **Lord Pentland's speech.**

(Dated 16th June 1917, Para 46, page 1773).

Referring to His Excellency the Governor's speech and to the stir created thereby, the KERALA PATRIKA, of the 16th June, points out that the speech would not have drawn forth such severe criticism if His Excellency had clearly drawn a distinction between the Self-government demanded by the Congress and Mrs. Besant's Home Rule ~~about~~ but that the Government's recent communique [illegible] likely to give satisfaction to all others than the members of the Home Rule Leagues who demand full self-government after the war, to which not only the Government but most of the people themselves are opposed for more reasons than one, thinks, that though the object of the Home Rule party is not a bad one, this can be attained only if the method adopted to be good, doubts whether there is not a little exaggeration when the Government say that in order to gain their object, these people intentionally misrepresent ~~Government~~ Government's acts and thus try to poison the minds of the unripe youths, as in its opinion most members even of this party can have no such intentions, and observes that at this juncture when the Government's mind is wholly occupied with the war, it is wrong to ~~withdraw~~ draw away their attention therefrom by such agitations, and that, as the Congress has been demanding self-government for a long time, and as the Government had no misunderstanding of any kind on the subject till now, they must have sufficient reason for

for their present attitude. The paper adds that it is not known why Mrs. Besant who once said that India was not fit for self-government, began to advocate it in 1914, and why those who have been captivated by her, follow her without thinking of this.

Referring to Lord Pentland's recent speech and to the severe criticisms thereon, the KERALA SANCHARI, of the 20th June, points out that, though the tone of some of the newspapers was rather immoderate, it must be attributed to their patriotism and desire for the self-government, and that, while the violence of some of the criticisms to be ~~apprec~~ deprecated, it has to be stated that it [was due to the ~~stern~~ strenuous opposition of the Anglo-Indian papers to self-government thinks that it] is not proper that India should obstinately press her claims for self-government at this juncture, when, putting aside all other considerations, all the countries, engaged in the war, ~~were~~ are bestowing their entire attention on the one purpose of bringing it to a successful conclusion, but observes that, in view of the fact that His Majesty the King-Emperor, His Majesty's Government, nay the whole world are aware of the part played by India in this colossal war, the Government were extremely wrong in enforcing an Act like the Defence of India Act in an exceedingly quiet Presidency like Madras even against such unselfish persons as Mrs. Besant and Arundale and thus undermining, instead of strengthing, the belief of the Indians that the India Government, the Secretary of State and the British Parliament would not fail to give effect to this desire (for self-government) of theirs at the end of the war.

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302. The internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale, and Wadia.

(Dated 16th June 1917, Para 62, Page 1734).

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In a leader under the heading "~~The~~ Three patriots have been interned" the SWADESAMITRAN, of the 16th June writes:- We expected that our Governor would decide upon and give effect to repressive measures in the case of Mrs. Besant, after giving her an interview and discussing with her about the intention of the Government. We need not say that the people were anxiously expecting the result

of this interview. If His Excellency had personally discussed the situation with Mrs. Besant, it would have given as much satisfaction as the explanatory communique issued by the Government yesterday. We would say that, if the Government do not view liberally our political efforts and the mighty help rendered therefor by Mrs. Besant, it will cause great disappointment. Yesterday's communique has cleared only certain mistaken presumptions on the part of the people about His Excellency's speech in the Legislative Council, and we do not think that it has laid bare clearly the attitude of the Government towards political movements conducted peacefully and constitutionally. Though the Government have stated that they are not against sound measures being adopted to acquire home rule gradually, they have also ~~decread~~ declared that they condemn the aspiration of India for entire Home Rule soon after the end of the war. But what is the entire home rule condemned ~~fox~~ by them? They do not explain this. So we have to gather how far the Government permit efforts being made for spreading a knowledge of home rule only for the measures adopted by them in particular cases. They say that they are anxious only about the means adopted for spreading a knowledge of home rule and that they cannot sit by and see the existing system of administration and the officials being condemned in language which is both undesirable and apt to poison the minds of the ignorant people. As His Excellency has specifically referred in his speech to ~~tose~~ those demanding "Home Rule", it is incumbent on us to point out that, unless he proves by examples that the home rule leagues or those conducting them have adopted undesirable means, his sweeping condemnation will cause dissatisfaction among the people. If we are to accept the words of the ~~OF THE~~ of the Government that they are not against proper efforts being made for the acquisition of home rule, no objection can be raised if one points out the defects in the existing system of administration or pleads that such defects can be removed by the reforms to be introduced under home rule. We entirely admit that, in so pointing out, no room should be given to such false representations

as are condemned by the Government or the creation of a feeling of disgust towards the Government. Under these circumstances, the steps taken by His Excellency today in consultation with his Council are, we regret to point out respectfully not compatible with the explanation given in the communique on general methods of administration. A law passed in connection with the war has not till now been applied like this in our Province to persons engaged in ordinary political work. But the present application shows that the Government in this province have gone a step further than in other provinces. The provisions in the internment order restricting the movements and priviliges of the three patriots referred to therein, give give rise to many impressions about the affinity which should exist between the Government and the people in the interests of the progress of the country. We cannot go into details about it to day. This severe step taken in the case of an excellent lady, who has attained the fame throughout the world, and her brethren, who were always working with her for the benefit of our country, without realising their high sense of loyalty and arednt zeal in the service of the country, will, we think, be condemned by the whole world.

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303. Political Agitation within the bounds of Law.

(Dated 15th June 1917, Para 63, Page 1785.)

The HINDU NESAN of the 15th June, reports the Hindu to have written as follows: There is only one type of agitation carried on by respectable political associations in India and the result of it is the reform scheme unanimously proposed by the Congress and the Muslim League. This scheme is divided into three parts, "

(1) The British Government should issue a proclamation that their aim is to grant Home rule to India as soon as possible:-

(2) As a first step before giving effect to such a proclamation, the political reforms demanded by the two associations noted above should be introduced; and

(3) India should also be deemed to have an equal status the other portions of the Empire. It is this scheme for which

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Indians are agitating. No self-respecting and patriotic Indian will refrain from engaging in this agitation. The Government can declare any other agitation than this to be contrary to law and check it adequately.

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304. Mrss Besant.

(Dated the 12th June 1917, para 67, page 1786).

The Andhra Patrika, of the 12th June, learns that His Excellency the Governor has asked Mrs. Besant to see him at Ootacamund, and remarks: We hope she will not be interned at Ootacamund. We say that no harm will result from her being free from interning her, Lord Pentland will introduce unrest in this Presidency newly. We firmly believe even now that Lord Pentland will not do such an improper act shortsightedly. There is no greater well-wisher of the British Empire than Mrs. Besant. If it is a mistake in the eyes of the Government to carry on a constitutional agitation, and hold out hopes to the Indians that they have a bright future, before them within the British Empire, we are at a loss to know what agitation will not appear wrong to the bureaucracy. When once repressive laws are enforced against leaders, even the bureaucracy cannot know where it will stop. This matter will not end with the internment of one individual, Mrs. Besant. Many others will have to be dealt with similarly. ..... By internments, the authorities think they can suppress agitation. They are mistaken. For all outward appearance, there may not be any agitation. But it may take some other form. The well-wishers of the country fear that it may take a perverse form. We pray that Lord Pentland may not fear the shadow, but will understand that this Presidency is peaceful and that Mrs. Besant is loyal and not disloyal. We request that Lord Pentland may not intern her. If she is interned, her friend will not give the ministers who are busy with matters connected with the war, peace of mind. There will be heart burning all over this country. To ~~resist~~ restrict the freedom of an innocent British subject will meet with the disapproval of the whole civilised world.

The AndhraPatrika, of the 16th June, giving a Telugu version of the concluding sentences of Mrs. Besant's letter (written before her internment) observes:- The letter written by Mrs. Annie Besant to her Indian brothers and sisters will, like the rock inscriptions of Asoka, taken an eternal place in the annals of the history of India. It is no exaggeration to say that Mrs. Besant is an incarnation of liberty. .. .. All her agitation was made within the bounds of law and not against it. Mrs. Besant condemns murders and acts of cruelty. But she always labours to propagate in a constitutional Manner what she believes fearlessly and without caring for personal comforts or discomforts. ...... There is nothing strang in the belief of the British Bureaucracy in India, which is subject to arbitrary rule, that Mrs. Besant is trying to root out their authority in India, and in their condemnation of her. If even the bureaucracy takes a full view of the well-being of the country and of the people there can be found no reason for condemning Mrs. Besant.. .. .. .. In her agitation Mrs. Besant is following only a constitutional method and not an unconstitutional one. Mrs. Besant has rendered infinite service to this country during the last three years. Whatever the rulers may do, Indians cannot forget Mrs. Besant's service to their country. That the Indian Defence Act should be applied in the case of Mrs. Besant on the ground that breach of public peace may occur is unjust and not just. The rulers will, by such a course, be establishing discontent in the Madras Presidency where peace now prevails. If the rulers inflict the punishment of internment on Mrs. Besant they would be inducing the whole world to form a bad opinion of the British administration.... As Mrs. Besant has a world-wide reputation, the news of the repressive measured adopted by the Madras Government will spread throughout the world and will mar their reputation and create discontent in the country.....It is regrettable that Lord Pentland should fail to decide upon a course of action after taking a calm view of the conditions of the British Empire, the condition of the Indians and that of Mrs. Besant.

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305. **The Internments.**

(Dated June 20th, 1917, Para(82), page 1789)

Commenting upon the internment of Mrs. Besant and her associates the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 20th June, observes: Hearafter it is impossible to work in the field of politics. All the three persons interned belong to the Theosophical Society. It would be so good if they obtain the permission of Government and continue their education and religious work for the public in the institutions under the Theosophical Educational Trust; there is plenty of scope for any number of people to work in these two directions. It is unrpofitable to feel aggrieved by the internment order passed at a critical time like this. It appears to us that, if properly approached both Lord Pentland and the Government of India will take a sympathetic view of the question and will permit them to do so. Later, perhaps on the termination of the war, they will be able to take to politics once again. We believe that this internment order has been issued in order to keep peace in this country at a time when mighty events of a revolutionary character are shaking the whole of Europe and other continents of the world.

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306. **The Internments.**

(Dated the 18th June 1917, para(81), page 1790)

The SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 18th June, remarks: In the Madras Presidency even the common people have started Home Rule Leagues and begun to demand Home rule. The Madras Government tried to discountenance these activities which are all the same growing day by day. Meetings are being held every week and even members of the Legislative Council have begun to take part in these meetings and to boldly put forward the demand for home rule and appeal against the attitude of the Madras Government even to the Secretary of State for India and the British Parliament. It is possible to put down the guilty by punishment; the delinquent will ~~ever have the fear of a guilty conscience which will make him free~~ ...

will ever have will have a fear of guilty conscience which will make him quitely yield to punishment. Loyal people need hardly be afraid of demanding free British institutions. Any punishment meted out to such people, will, we have, no doubt, recoil upon the heads of those who inflict it. A time will possible come when the British public as well as the Parliament will commend the demand of the Madras Public and censure the action of the Madras Government. Lord Pentland and his government would be wise to cooly reflect upon the unBritish action they propose to take before they take the leap. If we turn our eyes to the popular enthusiasm shown in regard to home rule at the meetings held at Coimbatore and Salem recently the resolutions unanimously passed thereat, the cablegrams sent to the Secretary of State for India, and above all to the fixed determination of the people at large to win home rule at all costs. it appears to us that Indians will soon become deserving of home rule and that the British will magnanimously grant the same to India. We trust that the Madras Government will carefully consider the PROS and CONS of the matter before taking any action in respect thereof.

Referring to the Madras internments, the Kerala Sanchari, of the 20th June, points out that there were various rumours on the subject, but that it is a matter of satisfaction that they are not all true, though nobody knows anything as to the future.

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307. <u>The suppression of Home Rule agitation.</u>

(Dated 19th June, 1917, para 99, page 1795).

In a "communicated" article under this heading, the Sampad Abhyudaya of the 19th June, referring to the orders of internment against Arundale, Wadia and Mrs. Besant, remarks:- It is understood that the order implies great responsibility and was already expected by the public and that those three people were earnestly working for the advancement of India. A correspondent writes to us as follows:- "There is no cause for regret. The result of this Act of the Government is that those three persons will be worshipped by the home rule party. These three will henceforth be

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be the presiding deities of the Home rule xxxxxx cause. Lord Pentland has only helped the success of the cause . The Indians ought to feel deeply grateful to His Excellency and his advisers for this. The authorities may act highhandedly. But the Almighty often restores them to constitutional bounds. Germany began the war. Russia had a revolution. It is impossible to predict what the result of all this will be. Be that as it may. The young and the old are alike affirming that it is abundantly clear that Lord Pentland and his advisers are neither friends of the British Government nor do they uphold the traditions of British justice. This is indeed a most regrettable circumstance.

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308. Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar on Home Rule.

(Dated the 15th June 1917, Para103, page 1795)

Commenting upon the manifesto issued by Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar, the SAMPAD ABHYUDAYA, of the 15th June, writes:- Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar is the president of the Home Rule League, -- a very dangerous position at the present time. It looks as if those that join the Home Rule League will have to suffer many troubles. Neverthe less, we are not a little surprised at the bold stand taken by Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar. He says:- "I cannot retrace my steps; I will not resign my office, even if the League be declared unlawful I am ready to face any penalties which may follow on my decision." The grim determination of this gentleman, notwithstanding his advanced age, excites our highest admiration. Man is mortal but if our life be sacrificed in laying the foundations of responsible Government for the country we shall not have lived in vain. It is this idea, we guess, which prompts him to act in this manner.

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309. The Madras Government and Mrs. Besant.

(Dated the 19th June 1917, para 110, page ~~797~~ 1497)

In a l~~o~~ong leader under the heading "The Madras Government and Mrs. Besant" the Manorama of the 19th June, refers to the unrest in this quiet Presidency, which began with the Government order on the Subject of the ~~x~~ students and politics, and which ~~c~~ was considerably increased by the anti-home rule speech of His Excellency the Governor and to the part played by New India in the agitation carried on against the said order and the speech, to which it thinks the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia may be due, and says:- As it has not been stated now or before how these three persons acted in a manner prejudicial to the public safety, we can only make a conjecture on the subject . We are prepared to say anything at this stage as to the propriety or impropriety of the action of the Madras Government. But we are of opinion that it will be conduc~~c~~ive to the welfare of the people and good for the reputation of the administrators to cancel without delay these orders which was caused pain ~~i~~ to most people in this presidency who have already earned a reputation for their loyalty. Hence, we hope that His Excellency the Governor will reconsider this matter.

Writing on the same subject the NAZRANI DEEPIKA, of the 19th June condemns the home rule agitat~~o~~ion as detrimental to the real interests of India, thinks that the Indians do not seem to look upon the benefits of British rule in their true light, when they make much of the defects therein and that, so long~~s~~ as the ~~true light, when they much of the defects therein and that, so long as the~~ disputes and quarrels between one community and another exist, and so long as the more advanced and the more powerful of these communities opp~~o~~ress the less advanced, Indians should never be allowed self-government, and says:- The British Government are giving Indians more and more privileges in administrative affairs, and will continue to give them in accordance with the progress they make. In these circumstances it is rash to carry on this self-

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government agitation in a manner hateful to the British Government. Is it genuine loyalty to thus harass the British Government, instead of helping them in all possible ways at this juncture when they are faced with various difficulties, brought on by this unprecedented war? At any rate, we may hope that this new order will put a stop to the self-government agitation in this Presidency

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310. The first internment in Madras.

(Dated the 18th June 1917, para119, page 1802)

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(1) The QAUMI REPORT, of the 18th June writes:- The Madras Government has, in a single attack, put the three formidable supporters of home rule out of action! They can neither speak with their mouths nor nod with their heads.

For the sake of Hindus an Irish lady, an Englishman, and a Parsi have accepted the torture of silence, seclusion, and friendlessness. Will not the Hindu community even now show pity?

We have frequently said that it is easy, by writing and speaking to show the Ganges flowing upwards, but to escape the blows of Fate is not correspondingly simple. Our hint was, however, dismissed with derision.

The forms of Mr. Muhammad Ali, Mr. Shaukat Ali, Mr. Zafar Ali Moulana Hasrat, and Moulana Abdul Kalam are before us and their innocence proves that whatever has happened before our eyes was not a mistake. When the Fate was already wounded our fingers, --i.e., our entire community what heart have to mourn for the Home Rule Trinity who never sympathised with the Mussalmans or showed any regard for their rights but avoided all contact with Islam?

Humanity of course, makes us sympathise with them and we are sorry that these people fell into the error of shaping a sword for their own destruction and, in spite of their weakness, took up such a burden which has now brought us to our knees.

We are not inimical to home rule but we do not wish to snatch it before time. It will come of its own accord and in such a manne

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that the whole world will be amazed at its sudden arrival. We shall be startled and say:-

"They came into our house. Behold God's Power;

"Sometimes we look at them and sometimes at our house."

When ever national freedom has gone, it has gone ~~suddentl~~ suddenly. Look at Russia, fast asleep in indifference and bewilderment, and then how she awoke, God's law is eternal and His ways are unchangeable.

It is true that rebellions have produced revolutions but natural liberty has not been secured in this way. Look at France and America. They have merely gained political independence ~~an~~ and God forbid that we should demand that.

We weep for Mrs. Annie Besant in her old age and we are prepared to grieve for the loss of her heroic courage, but alas that she should have deprived ~~of~~ us of our privilege of mourning. She has been worshipping her mahatma. She has been interpreting the voices of the spirits of the Himalayas. She has been in touch with the deities of the Ganges and the Jumna and she has undertaken to place the crown of Mahabarat on the heads of the Children of Brahma.

(She had lost sight of the fact that all around her were the holy influences of Islamhad no share in the country and had handed nothing down to their posterity.

It should not be understood that the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant has afforded us pleasure. Emphatically no! And if we could express an opinion to the authorities we would advise them that such measures are never productive of any good. We have seen five Mussalmans interned but this has not convinced ~~of~~ us that the Government possesses any celestial power. We still regard the Government as a Government and in our belief that incidents have neither added to now taken away from the Government. We frankly declare that Mrs. Annie Besant's eloquence has not taken away from the prestige of the Government nor has her silence added to its honour. The law is the same as it was before! We wish)

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She had lost sight of the fact all around her were the holy influences of Islam whose pure spirits are spreading a canopy of peace and welfare over the land on which she h[illegible] expended the energies of heart and mind, and that it is not an [illegible] matter to deprive Mussalmans of their handful rights to misl[illegible] them and thrash them possibly this was not the aim of this lady but ~~obvious~~ ~~and the~~ obvious interpretation of her home rule dream, has be[illegible]n that the children of Brahma (Brahmans) should rule and that the sons of Islam should obey them, for she had publicly preached that the the spirits of Mahatmas are the masters of this land, as if the martyrs, faithful followers, and godly people of Islam had no share in the country and had handed nothing down to the posterity.

It should not be understood that the internment of Mrs. Besant has afforded us pleasure. Emphatically no! And if we could express the opinion to the authorities we would advise them that such measures are never productive of any good. We have seen five Mussalmans interned but this has not convinced us that the Government possesses any celestial power. We still regard the Government as a ~~and~~ Government and in our belief these incidents have neither added to nor taken away from the Government. We frankly declare that Mrs. Annie Besant's eloquence has not taken away from the prestige of the Government, nor has her silence added to its honour. The law is the same as it was before! We wish to explain to our compatriots that whether they mourn for their three supporters or whether they sit down and wipe away their tears, the two Europeans and one Parsi constituted neither their heart nor their liver ~~lives~~. We are, however mourning for our five senses and have no time to spare. We certainly regret, that, whether rightly or wrongly ~~tey~~ they have had to join the lines of the mourners. They will now feel at least this much that the Mussalman period is not an ordinary one and if they are not shrieking and screaming it is due to the fault of their Fate.

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311. **Death of New India.**
~~2810~~ **(The Madras Government and Mrs. Annie Besant)**

(Dated June 19th, 1917, para 120, page 1803).

The QAUMI REPORT of the 19th June, writes:- Yesterday was the first day after the sudden demise of our compatriot and contemporary NEW INDIA. The Qaumi Report and New India were born in the same month and year in fact about the same week. Yesterday Mrs. Annie Besant formally announced the fatal termination before Khan Bahadur Mahammad Bazlullah Sahib, Chief Presidency Magistrate. It is possible that New India may be resuscitated or that a successor may appear. At any rate, we condole with our contemporary in the words of Mir Taki--

"Mir's heart is broken by the death of Taban--Requires cat in place.

"May God pardon him for the too poor fellow was a friend of ours.

"We have buried so many friends that it would not be surprising if we were not to mourn for this one.

"Still we shall surely drop a couple of tears.
Let the dagger slay whom it may, we tremble Mir."
For we feel for the sorrows of the whole world.

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312. **The Police and the "Protest" Meetings.**

(Dated 25th June 1917, para 1, page 1809).

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The HINDU of the 25th June, writes:- " We publish elsewhere a telegram from Tuticorin from which it will appear that the local Inspector of Police dispersed a gathering which had met to protest against the recent internment orders passed against Mrs. Besant and her two fellow-workers. We can find no warrant for this high-handed action, in law, nor can it be said that public ~~find n~~ peace demanded it, because the meeting was, we are told, a perfectly orderly one. .. .. .. The right of public meeting should not be made to depend on such slender silly grounds, and the undoubted liberty to meet in a lawful manner for a lawful ~~govern-ment in such an easy manner. What ext~~ purpose cannot certainly ~~be~~

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be sought to be infringed by subordinate officers of Government in such an easy manner. What extraordinarily ludicrous notions of the powers granted by the Defence of India Act are held by the local officers, can be seen from the fact that the Police Inspector on being asked to under what provision of the law he was acting told the organisers that he was acting under the Defence of India Act. The dispersal of the meeting at Tuticorin on no rational or intelligible ground cannot but lead to grave public discontent and it is to be hoped that the Government will institute a careful inquiry into this nasty affair in order to restore public confidence."

Writing on this subject, New India, of the 25th June, says:- "Inspector Jaffer Hussain of Tuticorin may be a very zealous police officer, but he certainly possesses a most extraordinary idea of his powers even in these days of the Defence of India Act and the repressive policy unjustifiably put into force there-under. In dispersing a public meeting of the citizens of Tuticorin evidently quiet peaceably and lawfully held--to protest against the internments of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers, he obviosuly purported to exercise powers he did not possess under any law that we know of.....Elsewhere the attempt at repression by executive pressure continues to progress, for we learn from our trichinopoly correspondent that there was a great difficulty in finding a printer to print meeting notices. meeting notices and that the head of the district in Trichinopoly cautioned two of the signatories to the protest meeting notice, that 'The Government will not tolerate the use of any violent language.'.....We trust that the leaders of Tuticorin will seriously consider what remedies they possess in law to vindicate their liberties and decide to pursue the same."

The Indian Patriot, of the 26th June, remarks:- "New India publishes from its Tuticorin correspondent particulars about a meeting held there to protest against the Madras Internments which we think, deserve to be taken notice of by the higher authorities .... If Inspector Jaffer Hussain Sahib thought that he would come in for the special praise from the Government of Madras

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for his prompt action in applying the Defence of India Act according to his own light, to lesser people, since the Government have done so with Mrs. Besant we quite sympathise with him. It is the curse of every Government that it should be served by Jaffer Hussains who, honestly attempting to do what they consider, would have the full sanction of the Government dangerously embarrass it. The Government today have enough to engage their most anxious attention and does not require the aid of Jaffer Hussain Sahib Khan Bahadur to be to increase its anxieties. Every act that would unnecessarily remind the people of their helplessness today must be condemned. That a police officer should have disbursed a peaceful meeting comes to remind us that we should have Annie Besants in every district to stand between the people and the authorities. If the Tuticorin incidnet is true, it is a scandal of the first magnitude and Mr.Jaffer Hussain should we think, forego his ambitions in service and be prepared for quite different treatment. Suppose the Tuticorin meeting had one or two men with the spirit of Mr.Gandhi and had refused to obey an illegal order Inspector Jaffer would have arrested them marched them to the jail and anointed them martyrs. It is a danger that such small men are allowed to run amock."

The Hindu of the 27th June observes:-- " We notice that the Police Inspector of Tuticorin has been good enough to permit apublic meeting to be held in orderto protest against the Madras internments. We must express our feeling of disgust at the proceedings taken by the Police at that place. The order to disperse was it appears to us as illegal as it was high handed and the local authorities should out of courtesy and in ordinary decency, apologise for this grave interference with a public right, to the organisers of the meeting. Instead of following this proper course permission is accorded to hold a meeting and the agent selected is the subordinate officer whose action has been very reprehensible. The language in which the permission is couched is also highly insulting. One of our correspondents, whose letter appears elsewhere asks us to take up the cause of the Tuticorin public. We need hardly say we resent the proceedings of the Police. But we may be permitted to ask whether those insulted have sought reparation in a constitutional manner for the injury done to them?"

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313. A political Prisoner.

(Dated 24th June 1917, para 2, page 1810).

The Non-Brahman for the week ending 24th June remarks:- "The Burma Government's Press Communique in refutation of the allegations or rather accusations made by NEW INDIA regarding 'A Tragedy' relating to One Chandi Charan Nag only shows that the editor of the 'largely circulated' paper is ready to clutch at anything as a dying man clutches at a straw, true or not, to attack the bureaucracy. She brought a culpable charge against a Government which has been repudiated by that Government. Either Mrs. should challenge the Government's repudiation or shut up her profession as a journalist. The vile writings based on untrue facts will only create discontent and disaffection; and if the Burma Government do take due notice of the conduct of the paper and if the Madras Government takes action we will not be surprised. It is essential for the peace of the country to put down such writings especially in a paper which ~~the peo)~~ boasts of largest circulation in India and which is the organ of the extremists and the Home Rulers."

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314. The Madras Internments.

(Dated 21st June 1917, para 8, page 1813).

West Coast Spectator, of the 21st June, writes:- "We have hitherto been reserving our comments to see how the general public has received the internment of Mrs. Besant and her active associates. In these times it is difficult for some people to keep their brain cool, and with they see a purely war measure, the Defence Act, applied to the suppression of political agitation, they are apt to lose equilibrium unless they are plainly told those weighty reasons of State which warrant the application of the measure. Mrs. Besant is regarded almost as fetish by a certain section of our countrymen, and they rightly or wrongly regarded that any wrongs done to her are wrongs done to the country. .. .. .. It is, a duty the Government owe to themselves and to the people

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to indicate in what way Mrs. Besant has stimulated this situation or encouraged it. If she has in any way embarassed the Government or encouraged militant opposition to law and authority she deserves the fact that has overtaken her. But, we have no evidence to show that she has, and in the absence of a statement from the Government, we must reserve judgment.

"It is difficult not to sympathise either with the Government or with Mrs. Besant. Mrs. Besant may not be responsible for it, but there is no getting away from the fact that many of our young men have imbibed theories and formed opinions not exactly very heal they, and we ourselves have seen and heard young men who swear by White Prophetess and live on home rule ideals. Of late we have noticed with considerable pain a tendency among our young men to misunderstand Mrs. Besant and to go along ways which she herself would not have tolerated. We think that Mrs. Besant is a victim of adverse circumstances.

"Whatever her faults we are not advocates of LETTERS DE CATCHET OR internments without trial. For this reason we are unable to endorse the wisdom of tose four gentlemen who constitute the Government of Madras or the method they have adopted to silence Mrs. Besant. No imprisonment without trial is one of the fundamental principles of the British Constitution, and Mrs. Besant ought to have been brought to trial had she been guilty of disturbing public tranquility. We can quite understand the objections against public trials, but our courts are empowered to hear cases in camer On the whole, it cannot be denied that Mrs. Besant's internment has created considerable regret.

"There is the other side of the question which no impartial critic can or should ignore. Mrs. Besant's organ has been publishi articles not very happily worded, and many a time have its leading articles openly challenged Government and indulged in expressions calculated to stimulate excitement. In all our journalistic experience we have not noticed such language in any Indian paper. This may be charge levelled against Mrs. Besant, but imbibed with spirit of British constitution we strongly hold that no man's

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liberty should be curtailed without a fair and impartial trial..... Liberty of speech or writing as it is understood in England or America does not exist in India. It is all very fine to speek of freedom, but we have to look to the actualities of life. We are a subject nation growing fast under a benevolent despotism; we have always to remember this fact is also to understand the instinct of self-preservation. A subject nation like us have no business to talk of high politics. This is Mr. Justice Chaudhuri's dictum. Is he wrong? We think not. Let us put our house into order let us uplift ourselves, destroy disunion and stand as a united nation. Then our claim for self-government will be irresistible."

Writing on this subject, the Indian Patriot, of the 22nd June, observes:- One of the most influential public meetings ever held in the city was held yesterday when the Madras internments were criticised. The Government may or may not care for the public meeting and protests; it may allow itself to be lured into 'business as usual' by observations about seven-tenths of the population being with it in its action. But no man of position and responsibility can afford to ignore the situation. When the cotton merchants at Adoni close their shops, when even insignificant meetings in far-off places, unheard of till now announce large subscriptions we much acknowledge that we are face to face with a real and far rather violent expression of popular feeling. It may be true to say that a very large majority of the population knows nothing about the internments; it is very large majority of the population knows nothing about the internments; it is perfectly true that seven-tenths or even nine-tenths of the population are in capable of judging whether Mrs. Annie Besant or the Government of Madras is wrong; but we insist that the Government would be acting most recklessly if the force and the importance of this agitation were not realised. ...... The Government of Madras we acknowledge has conducted itself with very great consideration under the circumstances. If it was resolved to intern certain people the Government could have very well interned them without speeches in the Legislative Council and Press Communiques on

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on self-government. Its attitude has been fair, and we give it credit for it. .. .. We sincerely hope that no stubborn obstinacy will characterise the Govenment of India. We do not expect the order of internment to be revoked, but we frankly believe that it would not be more surprising than some of the drastic changes perpetrated on British constitution itself, if Mr. Lloyd George should call upon the Government of India to leave Mrs. Annie Besant alone. .. .. Over the internment of Mrs. Besant all India is preparing to raise such an agitation as shall be an effective protest against these vague fears of repression. The question is whether the Government would also take up an attitude of unbending adherence to its views and policy, whether, for instance, it will rely on the opinion of the Muthialpet Anjuman in Madras or of the great Sirdar of the Punjab who would not sign the Reform Memorandum. We look to the Government of India, and even more hopefully to the Government of Madras for a wise handling of the situation. ..... We do not want speeches or press communiques which would only preserve wordy warfare -- neither the Government, nor we may assure the authorities, the people who are accustomed to politics are in a mood for argument. We want action upon such lines as would rally to the side of the Government the Moderates who are at present stampeding into the shelter of the home rule leagues before the threatening storm of repression bursts upon them. .. .. The duty of a responsible Government to-day is plain-- it is not to ignore the force of political agitation not to laugh at public opinion, not to rely entirely upon the Muthialpet Anjuman in preference to the Congress Committee or the Moslem League. As we have said we are not to-day discussing about the necessity for internments and of the blaze which the embers of suspicion have given out. Are we face to face with repression or not? If we are not,--we believe we are not--let us have from Government something that will convince us more than press communiques on local self-Government."

1814 "In a leader under the heading "Dawning Sense," NEW INDIA, of the 23rd June says:- "People generally do not realise the value of a thing until they have lost it. Nor do wicked people realise the enormity of their crime until after they have committed it. Such of our Congressmen who would not unreservedly give Mrs. Besant the benefit of their co-operation or assistance--not in the conduct of New India--but in the cause of home rule and its propagandaunder the Congress constitution have now had ample cause to repent their course of action and are hastening to make amends.. ..... A more noteworthy result is the sign of dawning sense in her Anglo-Indian enemies in the press. Having encompassed, with the assistance of their allies in the bureaucratic circles, the death, as they believed, of Mrs. Besant's public activities for the great counry of her adoption, they have now apparently set themselves to contemplate the situation they have created. And as all thoughtlessly wicked people would do when they are confronted with unexpected and contrary consequences, they are trying to discredit their co-adjustors in their nefarious work and the weapons which they had persistently and successfully urged these co-adjustors to use. ... The Anglo-Indian Press professes itself now to be xx as anxious as the Indian politicians and their great leader, Mrs. Besant, that the bureaucracy should yield up power gradually and graciously.& Will the Indian Bureaucracy should yield up power than other bureaucracies that we know of, do so? Or will they for their part, prefer--while availing themselves of the help of their press which so loyally backs them, when and where they need it--to ignore its advice where it touhes their own prestige, predominance and power absolute? .. .. .. We have not any hopes that His Excellency and his Councillors will be more ready to act up to the advice of their intimate method of the Madras Mail, and satisfy it by announcing it 'a policy' ...... We are now told that 'until the ground is cleared in this way, i.e., by the announcing of a policy and the drawing up of a programme of reforms a 'plotting out the field' by which the Government might, immediatley as well as gradually, yield up specific powers vested in the bureaucracy--'much of the present

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misunderstanding and waste of energy in foolish or dangerous agitation will continue.' This is exactly what home rulers with Mrs. Besant as their head, and the Congress League and Conferences with their leaders, have said and done--to ask for a policy and to demand a group of immediate and later reforms. Commonsense and high policy alike dictate, as the Madras Mail now admits, their sober and serious consideration, after due consultation with the weightiest official and non-Official opinion, British and Indian. Yet it was for urging this passionately and powerfully on behalf of the people whom she loves so much that Mrs. Besant has been hounded out of Indian public life by these specimens of the (esant ha) Anglo-Indian Press . Her absence will only be temporary, and when she comes back, she will have a much more thoroughly organised national party to lead and guide to the victory which is dimly perceived by the dawning sense of Anglo-Indian writers."

Mr. Chamberlain and Internments

"It is some satisfaction to know that news of Mrs. Besant's internment was allowed to reach London without much interruption by the Censor. Mr. Chamberlian was apparently unaware of what the Madras Government ha d decided to do, but 'he had no doubt whatever that the action of the Madras Government was necessary.' Such touching faith in the infinite wisdom of Lord Pentland and his advisers would have been amusing if it were not tragic and fraught with grave consequences to the Empire over whose feature he waxed so eloquent and optimistic but a few weeks ago. One convincing reason to him seems to be that other Provincial Governments had satisfied themselves that Mrs. Besant's activities had excited an unrest which might easily be dangerous at present. What is this 'unrest' of which he speaks? It is not we are glad to see charactered as either violent or seditious, but it might easily be dangerous in consequence of a continued course of repressive policy, where will he lay the blame--on his men on the spot or on the devoted head of the disinterested friend of the Empire? We await further particulars."

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The HINDU of the 23rd June Remarks:-"The Indian public would read with amazement and incredulity the reply of the Secretary of State for India to the question relating to the internments of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Arundale and Mr. Wadia. Mr. Austen Chamberlain has no doubt that the action taken was necessary. The Secretary ofState it is clear, has prejudged the question and his sanction had apparently been taken immediate steps to have the internment orders cancelled becomes therefore a futile one under present circumstances ......Enlightened public opinions is not ~~kiix~~ likely to be convinced of the necessity of the internment orders by Mr. Chamberlain's most vague and inconclusive statement that other Governments had satisfied themselves that the activities of Mrs. Besant and her associates had excited unrest which might easily be dangerous at present. ..... It seems to us tha the Secretary of State hadnot properly realised the gravity of the matter when he replied in the off-hand manner in which did. He has evidently relied upon the representations made to him by the local authorities and has not waited for making a final pronouncement to hear the representations on the other side. The reported answer of the Secretary of State is most disappointing but it is bound to give an enormous impetus to the agitation for home rule in the country."

The following appears in the Karnataka of the 23 rd June:-

"Freedom's Battle"

"We most earnestly hope our readers in every part of the State and outside are following the vicissitudes of the home Rule movement with the keenest interest and enthusiasm. The internment of Mrs. Besant has resulted as anticipated, only in a large accession of strength to her cause, and in the conversion of her earstwhile adversaries into adherents. The accounts of the mass meeting held in Madras to protest against the high-handed action of the Government and the reports of similar meetings held in towns and villages throughout the Presidency show the extent and the depth to which the public mind has been agitated; and we have to

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to thank His Excellency Lord Pentland for thus having set the slumberous people astir and for compelling them to learn methods of organised political agitation. .. .. .. When a brave and honoured veteran like Dr. Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar is ready to lead, the whole of the Indian Public, like one man, should follow him forgetting all minor differences which might conveniently be settled after the main cause is won. That the vast Presidency could not find one man to take up the editorship of New India and that it had to look to Bombay for help gives rise to sombre reflections regarding the boldness and the spirit of self-sacrifice of our Madras patriots. Until a better spirit comes to prevail, home-rule need not--and will not--come.....Should the storm of protests and remonstrance against the Madras Government fail to make them reconsider their policy of repression, we think it would not be unreasonable or unfair for the non-official leaders now helping Government in the Legislative Councils and other public bodies to whichdraw their co-operation from the Government whose policy they cannot approve of."

In a leader on "the Present situation", the West Coast Spectator, of the 23rd June says:- "The large attendance at the meeting held in the local Town Hall on Monday last, the extremely representative character of the Madras protest meeting, the correspondence appearing in the Indian papers and pronounced views of such moderate leaders as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Tej Bahadur Spru and Babu Surendranath indicate that the situation created by Mrs. Besant's internment is rather grave.....We can very well understand the hollowness and unstability of the position taken up by a handful of irreconciliables called Extremists who live upon noteriety and noise. We can very well allow them to stew in their own juice and afford to discard their views as too idealistic and ill-suited to practical conditions of public life and politics. .....The fact that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and his contingent who can on no account be regarded as impatient idealists obsessed

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with the idea of home-rule have openly come out to condemn the Besant internment and to sound what they call notes of warning must give us much food for reflection and persuade the Government into examining the whole situation as did Lord Minto a decade ago. We have no desire to embarrass the Government, neither are we prepared to stimulate a situation already graved with heated langua ge and emotional outbursts..... Desperate diseases call for drastic remedy no doubt, but the question is whether the distemper the body politic is suffering from is so chronic as to warrant the application of what is undoubtedly a powerful astringent. ..... The Government are certainly responsible for peace and order and we, for one, will have absolutely no respect for a Government who allow disturbance to public peace, and permit wind-bags to roam at large releasing poison gas and perverting young men to take to courses undesirable and dangerous. Have Mrs. Besant and her lieute- nants acted in this manner, outstepped the bounds of legitimate criticism and attempted to bring into contempt Government by law established in British India? If they have, they undoubtedly deser- ve to be dealt with severely and without mincing matters. If we consider Mrs. Besant's speeches and writings in a truly impartial spirit free from political passions, we are compelled to admit that she has been giving expression to sentiments clothed in language calculated to inflame youthful imagination and passions. .. .. .. We ourselves have seen and heard young men giving free vent to extravagent sentiments with home-rule on the brain and using language far from temperate and rational. If we convinct Mrs. Besant, it must be for indiscretion; she has been carried away by over enthusiasm and devotion to what she considers her duty. In our opinion this does not warrant the curtailment of her liberty and her internent internment. There is ample provision in in the regular law of the realm to deal withher if she has transgressed them; a far, open trial by one's peers is the birth-

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of every citizen of the British Empire, and any procedure that sets this aside may be regarded by some as a direct attack on the constitution itself. .. .. .. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the Government to disclose the full facts at their disposal and thus justify their action. ~~There is no loss of prestige in involved; in facts at their disposal and thus justify their action.~~ There is no loss of prestige involved; in fact prestige will only be raised if they take the people into their confidence in a spirit of candour with nothing to hide, with nothing to explain away....A strong wave of feeling is passing over the land which makes it necessary for the Government as we have already said, to grave situation, our people would do well to carry the case to the Tribunal of English public opinion whose impartiality, sense of fairness and justice can on no account be questioned."

The Western Star, of the 23rd June, writes:- "It would, of-course, be both profitless and inaccurate to deny that a deep sensation has been produced throughout India by the action of the Madras Government in ordering the internment of Mrs. Besant, Mr. Aurundale and Mr. Wadia and in placing an effective curb on their political activities. Mrs. Besant, in particular, has filled, during the past two or three years, so conspicious a place in the political life of this country that everything connected with her has become necessarily a matter of very considerable public interest. ..... Perhaps, greater numbers of Indians blindly giving believe her to be something of a political Messiah, come to deliver this country from the thraldom of alien rule. However, one way and another, this remarkable woman ~~(although chief)~~ undoubtedly wields an astonishing amount of influence throughout the country although chiefly among the younger men and the student classes. For our part, we find it difficult to correctly explain the reasons for the influence which Mrs. Besant exercises. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that she is as influential as she happens to be; because she has been able to appeal successfully to the reasoning faculties of the great bulk of her followers and

admirers. To us, it is perfectly clear that the propaganda she preaches is of the visionary type, ~~(it is perfectly clear that the propaganda she preaches is of th)~~ not of the sort which can be described as practical politics.....In a word, Mrs. Besant, being herself abnormally emotional, has been successful in an amazing degree in working upon the feelings of very large numbers among so emotional and sensitive a people as those of India..... She has not hesitated to claim, if only in a roundabout manner that, in a couple of years, she has single-handed infused more life into the dry bones of Indian political agitation than ~~decades: But whil)~~ bodies like the Congress and the Moslem League had been able to do during decades. But while this is so, it is unhappily not possible to ignore the fact, which Mrs. Besant herself cannot apparently be induced to see, that the success of her political agitation has to a very large extent been brought about by tactics, which are not only morally questionable, but are well calculated to bring evil in the wake of those who employ them. .... According to the Home Rule creed, this country can never be happy, prosperous contented or safe as long as its administration is in the hands of aliens. These aliens are described as the enemies of liberty and as obstacles to the advance of democracy. It is not merely that they are accused of being administratively ineffecient or inept. The people are asked to believe that the alien bureaucracy are animated by the basest of motives. Why, only a few days before her internment, in criticising the recent Press Communique of the Madras Government, explaining Lord Pentland's objects in delivering his much criticised Council speech, Mrs. Besant went the length of saying that Lord Pentland had not acted in a straightforward manner. This plainly means that Lord Pentland is accused of conduct unworthy of a gentleman and of a responsible administrator. It passes our comprehension how Mrs. Besant and her sympathisers can argue that tactics of this sort do not go beyond the bounds of constitutional agitation. To us, it is as plain as daylight that such tactics--and we have given our readers only a sample

of the sack--are undoubtedly calculated to bring constituted authority into contempt and mistrust, and political progress cannot be genuine when it is forced by such process. Mrs. Besant ~~had progress cannot be genuine when it is forced by such processes)~~ been treated with the utmost possible latitude by the Government but to judge from several of her utterances, she mistook forbearance for fear. She seems to have deluded herself into the Belief that the Government considered her too powerful to proceed against and, in this belief, she increased day by day the unbridled political license which she chose to take for herself. Now she speaks of martyrdom and all th t sort of things, and unfortunately, there will be large numbers among her hypnotised followers, who will fully believe her when she cries out that she is being immolated on the altar of an unsympathetic autocracy. On the other hand, there are also large numbers of thoughtful Indians, who will feel a sense of relief at the action taken by the Government in stemming the tide of a dangerous movement. In our Opinion, Lord Pentland's administration would have saved the country much heart-burning, misunderstanding and fictitious discontent, had it taken the present course at a very much earlier stage of the home-rule campaign."

The MALABAR HERALD, for the week ending 23rd June observes:- "The internment of Mrs. Annie Besant along with her two lieutenants, namely, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, is likely to create the greatest commotion in India though only for a short time. The news did not come upon us with any feeling of surprise as Mrs. Besant has all along been paving the way for the treatment which has now been meted out to her by the Madras Government. Several important issues are involved in the action of Government and they would not have taken this step but for the fact that their patience has well nigh been exhausted. Warning after warning has been given to her and heedless of them all she continued to grind the Mill to the discomfort and distress of those in authority

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who could not brook any further and a defiance of the laws of the country. The Government deserve to be blamed on two points. First of these is that they should have adopted this course of action at a much earlier stage of the home-rule movement. Had they done so, the discontent would not have been so widespread as it is likely to be now. In the second place the Government should have made an early declaration of their policy in respect of what they intend to do for the political emancipation of India after the war. While approving the action of Government concerning the internment of Mrs. Besant and her two lieutenants, as a war measure we do not for a moment mean that India should continue to remain in a state of political bondage. But, what we do object is that at a time when the Government is primarilly engaged in one of the greatest wars the world has witnessed, it was extremely injudicious on the part of the political leaders in India to have organised a vigorous campaign for Home-Rule. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the Government to do everything that lies in their power to suppress every moment which is calculated to embarrass them in their efforts to carry on the war to a successful issue."

The Cochin Argus, for the week ending 23rd June, states:- "We do not suppose that there are in this country or elsewhere any persons, irrespective of their nationality, who, not being devoid of good feeling and refinement, would find food for cheap merriment in the action of the Madras Government in ordering the internment of Mrs. Besant, Mr. Aurundale and Mr. Wadia. There must, on the other hand, be very large numbers of sensible and level headed men and women throughout India, whose uppermost feeling over this political sensation can only be one of genuine relief. Mrs. Besant may be the true and selfless friend of India, and her political work on behalf of this country may as far as she is personally concerned, be animated by the highest of motives. She may be absolutely loyal to the British Government, as indeed she always claims to be, and the belief may be ingrained in her that India is fully ready for complete internal autonomy, such

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such as the Dominions enjoy and that, consequently, it is mete andjust that India's responsible rulers should give India complete self rule immediately the war is ended, not as a mere boon or gift but as an absolute right which it has not been equitable to withhold heretofore and the further postponement of which would be monstrously iniquitous. .... Difficulty arises, however, when people who had strong and extreme political views and doctrines seek to thrust these upon the general community and upon the responsibleadministrators of the country in ways that cannot but easily inflammable. The home-rule agitation as engineered and pushed from day to day by Mrs. Besant, through the columns of her paper, through instrumentality of the several Branches ofthe Home Rule League, through the medium of political pamphlets and like cheap publications and through various other agencies and means, is, of course, considered by the Home-rule League through the ~~xxx~~ home-rulers to represent perfectly harmless and constitutional political activity, from which no harm whatever can accrue to either the Government or the people probably in contending thus, the Home Rulers really mean and believe what they say, but people who plunge excitedly into the whirlpool of politics and scarcely the best judges of their own methods, or of the wisdom of frantically shouting to the equally excited crowds on the bank to jump in.....Mrs. Besant's speeches and writings went on to assume an increasingly anti-government and even anti-British tone. The principle method by which she sought to secure home-rule for India were ~~xxxxxxx~~ threats to the Govenment of vague happiness happenings which would be precipated were complete self-rule not granted at once on the conclusion of peace, denunciation of the bureaucracy as an unsympathetic and irresponsible body, ignorance of Indian peoples and conditions, coupled with heartless unsympathy on the part of the European element, in the administration, vulgar abuse of Indian officials and non-~~føf~~ non-officials who showed any reluctance to subscribe to the gospel of home rule while you wait.

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Readers will probably recall the insulting reference in New India to Sir Harold Stuart, Sir P.S.Sivaswami Ayyar, Mr. Davidson, Sir Reginald Craddock, etc. Yet, the Government of Lord Pentland exhibited a patience, which in many quarters, was interpreted as weakness,. New India, we believe, was given friendly warnings from time to time, but apparently, filled with the idea of the sacredness of her political mission to the East Mrs. Besant ignored these warnings, and the tone of her journal grew more and more bitter and anti-Government, till at length, its patience exhausted, the Madras Government was driven to enforce the security provisions of the Indian Press Act..... After a brief spell, however, Mrs. Besant resumed her own blunderbuss journalistic methods, and readers of the paper provided they do not wear Home Rule spectacles, must ha[ve] lately noticed that it was the regular thing for this journal to confound the Britisher's right of free speech which the budmash's self-created right of abusive licence. .... Lord Pentland as we know has been grossly maligned and misinterpreted in this connection in not only the columns of NEW INDIA but in those quarters over which Mrs. Besant has cast her political spell. In the result, the inevitable has happened. Mrs. Besant chose to go too far. She chose to defy constituted authority. She grossly exaggerated her political rights and liberties. The consequence is that she and her chief helpers have had to be interned and muzzled. Doubtless, on the face of it, this looks hard, but the susceptibilities of Mrs. Besant and her friends and admirers are nothing compared with the peace and safety of the realm. Expressions of regret at the internments are being uttered all over the country, and, for our part, we too feel regret and sympathy for this misguided English-woman. It is, however, the clear duty of every loyal and right-minded ~~English-w~~ subject to stop here. The movement to get up protest meetings and to make speeches many of which are on the lines of the fulminations in the leading colums of

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NEW INDIA, is to be most strongly discouraged."

In an article under the heading "Real India at last" the Non-Brahman, of the 24th June, says:- "We feel that there is real feeling for Mrs. Annie Besant in her internment, and we do not like to stir it by any comments. We are glad that her liberty has been curtailed, and that the Government ofLord Pen~~t~~land have at last moved. It would have been confession of weakness and absolute impotency indeed if the Government had not taken the steps that has been taken. There is a limit even for a Radical in politics as Lord Pentland. He may have conscientious objection to curtail the liberty of an individual but he has to see to it that the Empire in war.

"Orthodox political agitation will follow the usual lines; when the husband of a Brahman woman dies the barber makes his appearance to do the shaving and when the Government has moved, the political agitators must necessarily come forward ....We do not want the Government to ignore what is said at 'Protest' meetings: they no doubt represent the opinion of a large number of the educated classes. As such, the opinion is valuable. But the step has been taken and a very large volume of responsible opinion supports the Government in its final effort to assert its authority, and in ~~k~~ showing, the people that after all Lord Pentland had not abdicated in favour of Mrs. Annie Besant and her lieutenants. Now that action has been taken the surprise is why it was not taken earlier. There would have been less heroes than to handle. ...... Educat~~i~~ed India--that is those who claim to speak on behalf of it to others--is whipping itself into fury. 'This is an age of repression. They are out to suppress our ambition. It is a ~~s~~ conspiracy, and we must strive to oppo~~r~~se it.' This is ~~ax~~ the war cry, and what is only next in importance to the submarine menace, we are told that some people who did not join the home~~r~~-rule league has now joined it. That means we sup[illegible]e the end of British rule in India and the beginning of [illegible]eshi rule. This kind of madness must show us in a r[illegible]s plight indeed

We sincerely hope that there would be no more fooling with undesirables, that the authority of the Government would be finally reclaimed from the perilous plight into which an over-scrupulous Government, which did not know how to deal with the Madrasis had brought about. Political adventurers are abroad. It plays an Englishman to be friendly with Indians, and teach them agitation. And we are told that a European journalist from Bombay has specially come down to give lessons in agitation to Madrasis. It would be a crime indeed if the Government should tolerate the slightest leaning to abuse, insiduous columny and deliberate misrepresentation. Patriotism and love of the country should mean something more substantial than protest meetings and expressions of horror at the repressive measures. Any one who loves his country and has not been hypnotised by Mrs. Besant must acknowledge that she has brought this upon herself....Let it be distinctly realised that Mrs. Besant is where she is, because she was rash and defied authority."

The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 24th June, remarks:- "The fiat has gone forth, India is to be under repression. 'Lord Chelmsford is a retrograde administrator. Lord Pentland has forgotten his liberal politics, the whole atmosphere is in gloom. Awake India and fall in line with Mr. Horniman and Mr. Kesava Pillai'. That is the cry. The Vakils in India have not earned their world wide reputation in vain. They having given the whole question a clever twist. They do not fight now for Mrs. Annie Besant; they are now, we are told fighting for a principle. The internments may or may not be justified, but they are certain that an age of repression has dawned. The signal is given and the stampeding of moderate politicians into the Home Rule Leagues has begun, and there stand Mr. Tilak and an English adventurer who is here to make money, Mr. Horniman. And India is represented as being entirely with them, and England is expected to be terrified.

"As if this were not enough, The United Provinces leaders, as they are called they themselves call them so--have

given the order that the recruitment committee to encourage the Indian Defence Force shall not work. What a great determination? What will become of India and the handful of Englishmen in our midst if the Indian Defence Force were not formed? We were defending the Englishmen here in India all the while, and now that the Indian Defence Force will not be formed, what a calamity it will be? Having taken such a grave step which will almost endanger the existence of British India, the suggestion has been made that all members of the Legislative Councils in India should resign as a mark of protest. Indeed that would mean the end of India when we find well-known men behind such schemes which we used to associate with hair-brained Bengali youths, we see where we are come to. ..... This mockery must cease, this speaking in the name of India, this invocation in the name of repression this hue and cry of imaginary tales of woe and oppression. India knows not about Mrs. Besant except the handful of those who are educated, and even their opinion is divided. ..... We believe that the movement is in the hands of a few British adventurers, who are in our midst. You do not know how to deal with us. You must agitate. You must rebel. You must not take things laying down. That is the way to deal with us. See how Ulster paralysed the Empire. We are engaged in war and there is no one to take note of what you do. And the Englishmen would do anything to make it appear to the world that India is in peace and not in a state of agitation. And so now strike, and you shall have much more by terrorisation that you will ever have by depending upon the generosity of Englishmen.' Of course when we say 'strike' we mean the striking of Legislative Councillors from the Council, and not any armed rebellion. Nothing of the kind need be feared, and there is no concern whatever, for behind the British Government stand to day the martial races whose very breath will shatter the handful of frogs that make this loud noise on the earth.

"The duty of the Government is plain. Never give way to agitation. Prestige is mocked by the politician, but a

but a Government of an oriental country must ever preserve its power and force or abdicate. If the Government cannot keep back the tide of false agitation bxk must give way toit, then let it go and let Mrs. Besant and Mr. Horniman be installed ..... Unless the Moderates rally to the side of the Government and convince that a large portion of India really to the side of the Government and convince it that a large portion of India is with it, the Gov rnemnt will not be justified in movingon the side of progress at all. It must see to the suppression of this rebellious spirit everywhere it shows itself."

The Indian Patriot, of the 25th June observes:- We do not know what impression the present all-India agitation is making in the minds of the authorities at Simla, or whether it makes any impression at all; we hope, however, that the protests from such non-political quarters, if we may say so, as that from the Hon'ble Mr. Manmohan Das Ramji, will not be ignored. The significance is great indeed when a merchant thinks it his duty to place his invoices aside and write about self-government. The one striking feature of this agitation is the awakening in Bombay. Bengal, as a sentimental territory, might sometimes be ignored; Madras has, perhaps never seriously troubled official imagination except within the Madras, has, perhaps never seriously troubled official imagination except within the last two years. Bombay however, has always been too busy to make any empty noise. As we have repeatedly said, that question is not at all whether Mrs. Besant and her lieutenants were interned with justification or not; if that were the A question, it were not so important at all from the Governor-in-Council in Madras to the Secretary of State in England, the assertion has been made that the internments were justified. If the Government thought that the safety of the Indian Empire require such action, why the Gov rnment had power to act and it has acted. There is, to speak fxmx frankly, a feeling that India is on the threshold of repressi[on]. Is it so? We do not

believe it. But it is not statesmanship to keep quiðet before such a rush of popular fears and xxx suspicions. It may be that few people are behind this agitation; it may be that the masses do not care to for the agitation, but is the Government prepared to ignore the Bombay mill-owner and the Bengalee agitator? We insist that no false and disastrous notions of prestige should stand between a direct, emphatic and generous announcement of policy. There is no use of anything even seemingly wrung out of unsympathetic administrators. Neither, in our px opinion, need the Government take any special trouble to conceal or underrate the present agitation; frank reference to the popular suspicions which it is intended to remove would on the other hand, only please the people. We appeal to the Government not to lose time, but to arrest further agitation by the pronouncement that would rally to their side all that is high and influential in the country. The time had come for this long ago--Sir Satyendra Prassana demanded it two years ago. But nothing was done. The time is now ripe; the air is thick with rumours of repression. 'The Government is not responsible for such a feeling. If people would deliberately misunderstand, we cannot help. To make any such pronouncement would be toyield to agitation. That would shatter the prestige of the Govennment in the eyes of an oriental people.' This is the only possible argument to keep the Government back; we should be sorry if it should really keep it back."

New India, of the 25th June, writes:- "Mr. Chamberlain's reply to Sir A.Williamson on the internments has given us some idea of the manner in which the Indian and the Provincial Governments had obtained the Secretary of State's general sanction for the polity of repression which they started a year ago and which they are apparently resolved upon pursuing with increasing severity and unwisdom. The representation made to the Secretary of State was that the activities of Mrs. Besant and her associates, has excited unrest which might

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easily be dangerous at present. We do not know whether theSecretary of State (as that the activities of Mrs. Besant and her associates had excite) (as that the a) enquired or cared to enquire what the nature of the activities were which Mrs. Besant pursue and what the nature of the unrest was which she is thereby stated to have created. It was sufficient for h im that the Local Governments in India had satisfied themselves about these things. ..... So far as the Indian Public could make out, there was only one danger which by anticipation the Indian Governments may have wanted to guard against and that is the danger to the perpetuation of bureaucratic domination which any sustained demand for reforms leading to the attainment of home rule for India must necessarily cause. Unless therefore, the Secretary of State for India assented to the proposition, firstly, that no such reforms were needed, and secondly, that steps should be taken to put down the propaganda which would lead to a knowledge among the people of the reforms asked for by their leaders, of the benefits of self-government which they inaugurate and of the acquisition of the necessary fitness to exercise the powers and responsibilities involved in home-rule--we cannot understand how the Secretary of State could have assented to the Indian Government's view that Mrs. Besant's activities were producing an unrest likely to become dangerous. The danger apprehended by the Indian Government, whatever it was, was not a danger which could have affected the internal tranquility of the country or the external safety of the Empire. Yet, it was a law which provided for the latter contingencies that the Indian Governments have been allowed to put in motion.. The open revolutions of South Africa and Ireland have been dealt with on principles very different from that which the Secretary of State has thought fit to allow the very different from that which the Secretary of State has thought fit to allow the Indian Government to pursue. The difficulties of Mr. Hughes and Sir Robert Borden in Australia and Canada in

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persuading powerful sections of their people to accept conscription and the several other burdens which the war has imposed, may not be so well-known in India, but they must have been fully within the knowledge of Mr. Chamberlain. Nor can Mr. Chamberlain have forgotten that activities were not only permitted, but promoted in all other parts of the empire to discuss and propagate proposals for the reconstruction of the Empire and for the reform of the British constitution itself, involving the grant of full home rule and the creation of new constitutional bodies for the entire Empire.

Why the Indian people alone should be denied the right of such discussion and the propagation of such political educati education is a question which evidently never troubled the thoughts of the Indian Secretary of State.... How can we measure the perversity of a Government which has so obviously disregarded the secret and the safeguard of local contemtment and I mperer Imperial strength--the Union of liberty with justice!"

Justice of the 25th June, states:- When Mrs. Besant and her two associates are interned home Rule politicials all over the country are vehement in their protests and their denunciations. They talk of the violation of the great principle of liberty involved in the action of the Madras Government. But of the three individuals whose political activities have bee been stopped by the Local Governments only one is an Indian, the other two being Europeans. But hundreds of Indians have been interned elsewhere in India, and the politicians have been comparatively silent over it. A Principle is a principle. no matter whether big persons or small are affected by its violation. Why then have not these politicians spoken so loudly and indignantly aganst the internments of these Indians under the defence of India Act? It is because they are obscure Indians who are not also active home rule propagandists? or

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is it only because that Mrs. Besant is not available for carrying for carrying on the agitation, her followers feel themselves unequal to the task?"

The South Indian Mail, for the week ending 25th June observes:- "The letter of the venerable old man of Southern India, Dr. Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayy r, published in the Madras papers clearly reveals to the public the hard conditions of the internment order on Mrs. Besant, the illustrious and devoted worker to the cause of motherland. It will be right and proper to put restrictions on her speeches, writing and activities subsequent to the service of the order on her, but to prohibit wholesale all her past publications political, ethical social, educational and religious without making any discrimination whatever is nothing but ~~to prohibit wholesale p~~ naked injustice. Even supposing that her writings on politics and education are not conducive to the public safety, we are at a loss to find out even a single justification, however earnestly we may try to searching for the same, for prohibiting even her theosophical, social and above all, religious speeches and writings. ..... We are sorry the Government have gone to this extreme length. We urge the members of the Theosophical societies in India to make an appeal to His Excellency to cancel such portions of the order that interfere with her religious writing and publications as the present order unnecessarily puts the large number of theosophists under paid and discontent."

The West Coast Bulletin, of the 22nd June, remarks:- "It has been successfully trumpeted forth that the home-rule agitation as engineered by Mrs. Besant and her lieutenants through the medium of New India, is fraught with mischief for the Government and the people in the country, and as a result of the anti-home rulers' howl, Mrs. Annie Besant has been silenced, though that grand old lady is optimistic enough to hope for and see the day of India's rejuvenation. ..... For the Present, the Government can in this supreme moment of their

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complacency congratulate themselves on their success and they can also lull themselves to sleep over the burning topic of home-rule. Throughout the history of the Modern world, internments and imprisonments have but heralded the coming dawn of hope, sympathy and freedom, and therefore, we are not at all surprised at the Madras internments nor are we in despair on account of them."

The Mysore Patriot, for the week ending 26th June, writes, The internment of Mrs. Besant has operated as a controversial bomb thrown into the midst of India. It has burst and the sparks have entered every town and every village. There are anglo-Indian papers that say emphatically that the action of the Government of Madras is not only absolutely necessary in the interests of the order of development of Indian Policy, but is also years overdue. They are pleased to add that the to add that the policy announced in the Madras communique last week is one which commands the approval of every far-seeing Englishman and Indian. .... They are of opinion that the burden of Mrs. Besant's song is that the is that the whole system and the fabric of Government in this country is wrong, that in pursuit of this idea, she has laboured, in season and out of season, to discredit the Government and everything and everybody associated with it, that none has been spared, not even Indians who have grown old in the service of their country that her whole career is a series of meteoric leaps from one means of winning notoriety to another, that the people who know of these things, naturally look askance, that no Government actuated by a sense of responsibility could stand idly by and watch public confidence undermined and credulous people led astray by torrents of eloquence, however brilliant and all administration brought into disrepute and contempt, without taking effective measures to prevent it.... A gentleman has been heard to say that among Indians there are number of lickspittles who, for a mess of pottage, have been selling their

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souls, and they are also among the ranks of Anglo-Indians. Stron language is no argument. The Government of India must have their own reasons to take the step they have taken. There is great truth in the statement that the step is opposed to British principles of justice and fair play. It must however be seen that the time for home-rule agitation is not a happy one. The British Government will concede home-rule to India when the Indians show that they are determined to have it and when they raise above their silly, stupid, barbarous, and highly sinful mutual hatred, engineered by the enemies of India on the irrational conventions of caste, colour and creed. .... Unless and until they get over these mutua.l animosities, fanned by the enemies of India, Indians will never have home rule, and must remain content with the rule of brute force, tempered now and then by benevolent despotism."

In commenting on the recommendation of the Bengal Muslim League that elected members of Legislature Legislative Councils should resign in protest against the Madras internments, the Indian Patriot, of the 26th June, says:- That a responsible body like the Bengal Muslim League should have advocated the resignations of members of Legislative Councils is certainly to be regretted. After all the present situation, serious as it is, need not be exaggerated. There is a distinct change in the Anglo-Indian angle of vision; there is an acknowledgment in quarters where we certainly had it not that the Indian situation after all, is not to be ignored but faced. At such a time to advocate that members of Legislative Councils should in a body resign is almost similar to the action of certain people in the United Provinces who undertood to find recruits for the Indian Defence Force, but because of the Madras internments and the ominous forebodings of repression, threw up their work and proudly told the world why they threw it up. Dr. S.K. Mullick of Bengal, than whom no one has done more for the success for the Indian Defence Force described this performance

Mullick of Bengal than whom no one has done more for the success for the Indian Defence Force, described this performance as cutting off the nose to spite the face. The agitation, as it is, is dignified enough, and must draw the attention of the Government; but if the advice of the Bengal Muslim League is followed, it will be a descent from the sublime to the ludicrous."

The West Coast Spectator, of the 26th June, remarks:- "The speeches made at the Madras Public meeting and the correspondence still appearing in the Indian Press on the internments clearly indicate that the situation is grave which is complicated by the heated language used by the speakers and the silence of the Government in regard to the evidence at their disposal to justify the internments. We are not inclined either to cloud the issues or to minimise the significance of the protests that have gone forth. In fact, only fools and sycophants will ignore the gravity of the situation and try to belittle the excitement created by the application of a purely war measure to suppress agitation. ...... We can very well understand Theosophists and those hanging round Adyar gnashing their teeth and proclaiming boycotts, but when the leaders of the type of Pandit Madan Moham Malaviya come out and join issues with the Govenment, one has to pause and reflect.....A most significant incident is that some of the well-known leaders of the United Provinces who had identified themselves with recrutitmentfor the Indian Defence Force have withdrawn themselves from the movement, cancelling all public meetings in connection with recruiting on the ground that 'Events have since happened which make it clear that Government is bent on pursuing a policy of repression; and under these circumstances we find ourselves unable to work on behalf of the movement.' This is a grave step. We may not agree with the leaders of the United Provinces in the extraordinary step they have taken. ..... To make a long story short, we regard the situation with considerable anxiety and fear. The attitude of hostlity, passive hosti

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proclaimed by the leaders as also the fillip the home-rule movement has undoubtedly received may lead the Government into embarking on a policy of undiluted repression. .... The ferment is as undesirable as it is widespread and universal; it is not the creation of a microscopic blatant minority. The policy of negation must be discontinued; the time has come for the Secretary of State to intervene, to take the situation boldly out of the hands of the Local Government and the Imperila, Imperial, as did John Moreley and boldly and honestly avow the policy the Times of India has indicated in which case there will be a remarkable rally of the patriotic and moderate forces which count for much in Indian Politics."

Writing on this subject, the Hindu, of the 28th June, remarks:-"The Anglo-Indian Press is, as has often happened at times of political crisis, at its old game of misrepresenting the conditions of the country and minimising the weight and value of popular agitation. The Statesman of Calcutta which beats its Anglo-Indian brethren in its arrogant and cool dis-dian claims and aspirations declares that some may be disposed to think that the British public have taken too generous view of the Indian contribution to the war.' It makes the impudent assertion that 'the educated classes, far from representing the masses, are their economic foes,' they think that they can now levy a political blackmail and that they can safely carry on a violent agitation because the British Government, appreciating the moral strength which they derive from the conspicuous loyalty of India, will be reluctant to resort to measures of repression. This Machiavellian method of depicting the present situation is calculated to throw dust in the eyes of the authorities, and to spur them on to further measures of repression. The upheaval of popular feeling, the ferment and ex-citement caused all oover the country by the internment ofMrs. Besant and her co-workers, are now matters of common knowledge. The Anglo-Indian counsellors of the Government wish that all

all this popular demonstration should be treated as mere froth that it is to count for nothing, and that the Government is to preceed on its own line of policy conceived and matured without regard to the voice and sentiments of the people....The ripple created in the political pool of the Madras city by a few misguided people stimulated by interested extraneous influences cannot disturb the great volume of opinion which has gathered all over India in support of lifting this country to its rightful place among the nations. No Indian publicists of any note except Dr.T.M.Nayar has yet come forward to support the Madras Government in the matter of the internments. We understand that the movement is now on foot engineered by a few individuals in Madras, to get the zamindars in the Presidency to lift their voice against the Indian national movement. .....It is gravely argued by our contemporary the Madras Times that we should view with resignation the gross violation of personal liberties involved in the unjustifiable acts of internment of Mrs. Besant and her comrades in return for a moderate modicum of reform promised to us, that we are now looking a gift horse in the mouth and so on. This would indeed be selling one's birthright for a mess of pottage."

The Indian Patriot, of the 28th June, writes:-"As the President of the Bombay Presidency Association, the Hon'ble Sir D.E.Wacha has sent a responsible representation to the Prime Minister of England. The greatest living Indian Congressman independent and yet friendly to Government, the association so prominently with this agitation of Sir Dinshaw Edulji must, we think yet afford one more ground to the authorities to promptly interfere....Sir Dinshaw's association with this agitation must make it clear to the Government that no personality but principle is involved in it, and that to ignore it or explain it away would never be statesmanship. The appeal goes to the Prime Minister and the responsible statesmen in England, who we sincerely hope, will have imagination enough to grast the

situation. The fact that for close upon a forthight an intense agitation has been allowed to develop in the country without the slightest indication yet in responsible quarters of any tendency to arrest it, shows that either the force is minimised for the time-honoured policy of drift is to be observed. As we have repeatedly pointed out, the Government is ill-advised in looking upon the present situation as a pa-sing phase, attendedwith a fewpublic meeting,--which are rendered fewer by the kind office of Police Inspector Jaffer Hussain Sahib--a few speeches and resolutions. It is not so. When an old and trusted patriot like Sir Dins'aw Eduljee Wacha signs his name to a representation of the kind that we publish to-day it means, that there is absolutely no exaggeration about it.....We think that the representation of such a man ought to convince the Government that the situation is far tooserious to be ignored.

Weiting under the heading, "The Howl of the Home-rulers" Justice, of the 29th June, says:- The internment of the high priestess of home-rule has made the home-rulers set up a terrific howl 'like that of a whole menagerie when the elephant has rung the bell for the cold meat', and the howl is becoming more terrific because the public have not taken the home-rule howl seriously....We are familiar in this country and elsewhere with such careful manipulated 'spontaneous outbursts.' The Ghokale Hall protest meeting was a carefully organised and costly affair. Special agents, we are told, went out into some of the districts to bring delegates to manifest the 'spontaneous outbursts'. The Telegrams were flying in all directions urgently summing indifferent citizens to hurry to Madras to join the spontaneous popular demonstration. ..... The clever strategy of the Madras Government in preventing the sutdents students attending political meeting has cut the ground under the feet of the home rulers. The ordinary constitution ofa public meeting before the Government order on students and politics was issued used to be a few vakils and some hundreds of students. The vakils delivered the speeches, the students

did the shouting between the two an 'enthusiastic p[illegible] was the result. Without the students the show bec[illegible] tame. Seven vakils sitting on a platform and loo[illegible] and at the empty hall was enough to dampt the e[illegible] even a home-ruler, and yet many such meetings h[illegible] held. ..... The Hindu is indignant because certain new[illegible] in the country do not take this kind of demonstration as show[illegible]ing the intense feeling that prevails in the country. Our con contemporary is particularly angry with the Anglo-Indian newspapers one of which he characterises as displaying an arrogant and cool disdain of Indian claims and adopting Machiavellian methods of depicting the present situation...... The agitation that is engineered and carried on in this Presidency at the present time as a result of the Besantine internment is a feeble imitation of such agitations in England To send lengthy telegrams, which cost a good deal of money to Mr. Lloyd George in the hope of convincing him of th[illegible] intense excitement that prevails in India is, to say th[illegible] of it, waste of money. .... To try and convince such av[illegible]ran in the methods of political agitation that the Madras 'froth' to use our contemporary's expression, is full ofsubstance, is a futile endeavour."

The Hindu, of the 29th June observes:- "The second reply given by the Secretary of State for India to the question in the House of Commons on the subject of internment of Mrs. Besant, makes the matter worse so far as his pronenessto form hasty and ill-considered conclusions on such an important matter is concerned.....To all intents and purposes, the cable acquainting him of the action of the Madras Government seems to have been sufficient warrant to him to say that he proved of the internment. It was necessary in all decency for an official in such a high position to attempt to hear the other side before repeatedly affirming his conviction in support of an action of the Local Government, against the gross injustice of which, the entire educated communit[illegible]

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the times and has unconsciously strenghened the
ments in the national temper of the people. .... It is no exaggeration to say that the application of the Defence of India Act to silence Mrs. Besant has shocked the Indian public to a degree of which the secretary of State can have no conception. It is commonly regarded as a violent and unconstitutional act of aggression upon Indian constitutional agitation as typified in Mrs. Besant.

The following appears in NEW INDIA of the 29th June:-

MR. CHAMBERLAIN AGAIN.

"As we anticipated the Secretary of State's sanction had not been previously obtained to the internments ordered by the Madras Government. But this has mattered not one whit to those who months ago had determined on naked repression in India, and now, by destroying the liberties of a great leader and her co-workers, hope to choke the springs of national awakening in India. Mr.Chamberlain not only has approved of the action of the Madras Government <u>ex post facto</u> but has also emphasised that 'Mrs. Besant had been engaged in dangerous agitation which might even be disastrous to India.' What quick progress has he made from the position he took in his first reply, that Mrs. Besant's 'activities might easily become dangerous' to the position that 'she had been engaged in dangerous political agitation'! Is it that His Excellency Lord Pentland furnished his chief with 'revised copy', containing fresh material to change Mr. Chamberlain's first belief? ..... Mr. Chamberlain has not stood well this first touch of cross-examination on Indian affairs; but he has we are afraid, very much more to face, and he had better

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promise and begin to make further enquiries, and, xakx after making them, cancel the orders which and not the activitées, might be disastrous to the authorities, now governing Indian affairs."

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315. The Indian Defence Force.

(Dated 22nd June 1917, para 9, page 1827).

The Indian Patriot, of the 22nd June writes:- "We confess to a feeling of pain and surprise at the very serious intelligence that comes from the United Provinces, of some prominent names associated with public life there deliberately discouraging recruitment to the Indian Defence Force. ..... Because of the Madras internments and the general alarm of repression that it has roused in all parts of the country, the Committee threw up their work, and say it is not at all interested in the business. We did not know that men like the Hon'ble Tej Bahadur Sapru were capable of following the advice of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal who it was that first gave this advice What do these people mean dx by discouraging the Indian Defence Force? Do they oblige the Government by encouraging recruitment? Do we expect one more elected member in the Legislative Councils for every company recruited? Do they want to force the Government to their own angle of vision by such irresponsible action? The action of the United Provinces leaders is foolish; ungenerous critics will even say that they were only waiting for an opportunity to throw up the work and retire from a field where they could notdo anything, and that the Madras internments came as a timely excuse to retire.....We do not certainly want to play in the hands of those who are kx interested in proclaiming us as useless and incapable. As a means of bringing home to Government the popular feeling against the internment, this step is the least effective. It is suicidal. We strongly protest against it lest the bad example should be copied

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elsewhere. If any people think that they can terrorise the British Government in India by rapid talk of foolish action they will find that they are mistaken. ..... If the Government have lost their head, that is no reason whatsoever, why the more responsible among the people should lose their heads too. The resignation of members of the Legislative Councils would not even embarrass the administration--at least we are sure that the Hon'ble Mr.Lionel Davidson will heave a sigh of relief that there will be no interpellations to answer and resolutions to oppose. The feelings of the people no doubt have been roused, and for very good reason, but we must guard ourselves against meaningless will, we hope, step out without delay to assure the people who are engaged in more serious methods. We must warn against any haste or harsh rash action which would only defeat its own purpose. The rash action of the Allahabad Recruitment Committee will, we sincerely hope, be not copied elsewhere; and in spite of the formidable character of the very important personage who wants honourable members of Legislative Councils to resign, we believe no such unfortunate step will be taken."

Writing on this subject, Justice, of the 23rd June says:- "An Allahabad telegram gives the text of a letter issued in the form of a circular by half a dozen prominent men of the place stating that as the Government have adopted a policy of repression they find themselves unable to work on behalf of the movement for the recruitment of the Indian Defence Force. The recruitment movement has not yet produced very satisfactory results and the cessation of the action activities of these and other gentlemen will not produce any appreciable difference. Nevertheless, we hope that those who are deeply interested in the future progress of their country will not fail to avail themselves of the present opportunity which is almost unique in the modern history of India."

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316. HIS EXCELLENCY LORD PENTLAND AND MRS.BESANT.

(Dated 23rd June 1917, Para 10, Page 1827).

The following paper appears in the West Coast Spectator of the 23rd June:- It seems Lord Pentland gave Mrs. Besant an opportunity to consider her case and to leave for England to stay there till the end of the war. This robs the internment order of half of its ungraciousness. During the interview Lord Pentland was most courteous, and exhibited an anxiety for smooth saling and express his great consideration for Mrs. Besant. The latter's followers may ignore these facts, but we cannot and should acknowledge His Excellency's courtesy and efforts to sugarcoat the bitter pill.

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317. Mrs. Besant.

(Dated 24th June 1918, Para 11, Page 1828)

The Non-Brahman, for the week ending 24th June, has the following:- "Mrs. Annie Besant seems to be evidently losing her head every day; and the latest incident is her effusions in New India are like the ravings of a mad woman. She attaches importance to herself, in that the Government want to crush her. Why? Reason stated are as flimsy as she thinks high of herself. Perhaps her brains have dried owing to advanced age, and by her uncontrolled temperament on the side of rashness, being aggravated day after day, she only justifies the truthfulness old Tamil Adage. She is backed up by an eminent citizen equally advanced in age. To add fuel to the fire there is the middleaged veteran--self-styled representative of Aristocrats, not of Madras alone but of whole India."

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318. British Rule v. Home Rule.

(Dated 24th June 1917, Para 12, page 1828)

Justice of the 25th June, observes:-

To the columns of the social Reform Advocate Rao Bahadur T. Sundara Rao, the son of the distinguished educationist and scholar the late Professor T. Gopala Rao, contributes an article on the home rule agitation. He examines in some detal the accusation made by His Excellency the Governor against the conduct of the agitation, Mrs. Besant's apologia in New India of the 15th June and the explanation of Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar as President of the Home Rule League and arrives at the conclusion that the principle on which th e British Government works in India are to be sympathetic to all, to make the law as far as possible the same to all but recognising the differences that exist. He says 'this is understood by the general public and appreciated by the poorest ryot. If the Government is not "popular" because it is "alien" it is not unpopular, it is not disliked. It has the tacit consent of the people which it has earned by its strength, by its efficiency, by its inevitableness; it commands respect and fear and confidence. This is the basis of the loyalty evinced at the present crisis. If a general vote were now taken on the question of British rule v. Home rule there will be a vast majority in favour of British Rule which, with all its faults, is the best that India has had for ages. Theobject of the Home rule propaganda is to change this and to turn the votes in favour of a popular Government by holding out hopes of better administration and better material prosperity The bureaucracy--the term is now used by the home-rulers in contempt--which has been toiling hard for sixty years to secure peace, internal and external, to India, and to develop the resources of the country, and is now striving hard to keep the Huns away from the country, all this against great

odds, is to be dismissed without thanks or relegated to a subordinate position.' That truly represents the real state of responsible and sober public opinion in the country, artificial protest meetings notwithstanding."

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319. Anglo-Indian Press and the Madras Internments.

(Dated 26th June 1917, Para 15, Page 1829).

The Indian Patriot, of the 26th June states:- "As we have repeatedly said, the question immediately before political India--apart from the immediate and very large followingof Theosophists and political followers of Mrs. Besant -- is not merely the internments. There are many, on the other hand wo think that the Madras Government were driven to take the step by a campaign of almost reckless writing. That, however, is not the question at issue. It is whether the internments betoken a regime of repression. The speech of His Excellency Lord Pentland is remembered; the explanatory press note is is ~~of His Excellency Lord Pentland is remembered; the~~ forgotten, at any rate it has not effectively quieted the feeling stirred up by the speech. The speech and the internments are understood together, and the question is asked persistently whethere is to be repression. This is the situation; and this explains the present attitude of prominent public men, even business men. Our own opinion is that the speech of His Excellency Lord Pentland, understood of misunderstood, more than the internments, is responsible for the present political discontent. There is discontent; and the most significant proof of it is in the large participation in the agitation of business men. There is no use moralising; there is no use in the taunt that it is convenient to the agitato[illegible] remember the angry portion of Lord Pentland's s[illegible]

forget the communique....Abuse of the Agitators' lurid pen pictures about his powers of bragging and attempts to damn him with census figures of Indian illiterary will not be a solution at all. The only alternative to a declaration of policy, which the Times of India in Bombay and the Madras Mail in Madras have unequivocally favoured, is to deliberately ignore this agitation. Of course we may assure the Government that nothing untoward will happen as a result of ignoring the agitation, there will be no subterranean discussions; the bomb and the anarchist will not appear except among the criminals; the motor car dacoit with the ready revolve will not emerge from Armenian Street. .... The Government we are told is not against the ideal of self-government, the Government is not against home rule but only against the methods adopted by some of its champions in advocating it. All this has been averred by the Government or its Officers. Why then, should there be any delay in taking a step which will go a long way in arresting an agitation which, the more the Government and the Anglo-Indian newspapers are assured is engineered by designing people the more there is necessity to discourage. It would we are sure, be sheer blindness, unworthy of responsible authority, if a gentlemen of the position of the Hon'ble Raja of Muhammadabad should be ignored the moment he talks of high politics. And yet at the public meeting at Lucknow, the Raja moved a strongly worded resolution to the following effect: 'Resolved that this meeting of the citizens of Lucknow declared its firm adherence to the cause of self-government or home-rule for India and affirms its unshaken determination to work for that cause by constitutional methods on the lines drawn by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League in their sessions held in this city in December 1916 and exhorts the people to join the Home Rule League and other organisations meant for carrying out the above object."

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320. The Madras Internments and Government of India.

(Dated 27th June 1917, Para 16, page 1830)

The Hindu of the 27th June remarks:- "We do not pretend to be able to say why the Government of India are assuming a sphinx-like attitude in regard to some of the most important events that are happening in India at the present moment. The official deliverances against the Home-Rule propaganda in the Punjab, Bombay and Madras, the threat of repression and the subsequent inauguration of a policy of coercion in this Presidency are widely believed to have been inspired from Delhi. .... If the internments in Madras represent only a mind dose of the medicine prescribed from above, then the Indian public may well wonder that the complete remedy may be like and shudder to think of the consequences ofan unrelieved policy of repression. As we said before, the public mind is greatly agitated over the reports of impending trouble and of the sanction to such a plan of action granted by the higher authorities, as indicated by the answer given by Mr. Austen Chamberlain to a question put in the House of Commons about the Madras internments. It is, in the circumstances, a matter for surprise and astonishment that the Government of India should still remain silent. Such an attitude ill-accords with the great responsibilities that they have and the duty they owe to the public. What are the real facts about the grave incidents that are convulsing the country from one end to the other and what are the opinions of the Government of India regarding the constitutional agitation for reforms in Indian administration, and the unmistakably hostile front shown to it by certain Provincial authorities? .... The suspense is unendurable and it is extremely unwise and wrong to continue to withhold the publication of the intentions of the Government of India. .... It is explicable why the authorities do not take time by the forelock and take the public into their confidence. Statesmanship, imagination and sympathy

have never b en more in need in India than at present, and it is to be hoped that they will not be found lacking at this crisis in the highest places."

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321. The internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia.

(Dated 18th June 1917, Para 41, Page 1839)

Reverting to this subject, the Swadesamitran ~~xxxx~~ of the 18th June says:

The action of the Madras Government will doubtless disturb the public mind and cause great provocation throughout the country. In the law now applied to Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, which is mainly a war measure only two grounds are given for justifying one being interned under it, and theyare that one should have disturbed or shouldbe likely to disturb the public peace or should have endangered or should be likely to endanger the defence of the country. As far as the defence of the country is concerned, it is well known that ever since the Government began to form a new corps, Mrs. Besant was going from place to place and inducing our young men to enlist in it and do their duty to the count country and their Emperor. As far as the people are aware, neither Mrs. Besant o nor the two others have ever done, or are ever likely to do, any act which may disturb the public peace. So all the evidence seems to be against their being interned and there does not appear to be sufficient evddenc evidence for it. We cannot therefore say how the public can approve of this action of the Government. But, in his speech in the Legislative Council on the 24th May last, His Excellency declared that, as the agitation of the home-rulers might disturb the public peace, he might have to resort to repressive measures and our readers are aware how the public

criticism of this pronouncement brought about the publication of an ordinary explanatory communique by the Government on Friday last. Considering this, the present action seems to have been taken only with the object of preventing in the interests of public peace, the existing and future activity of three personages in the matter of home-rule. Who can deny that the efforts for the acquisition of home-rule conducted for the last three years in this Province--why in the whole of India--have not injured in any way either the public peace or the business connected with the war? On the other hand, our province was markedly peaceful, when compared with other provinces. If our Government tink that the legitimate efforts of the people made without any disturbance to the public peace can be stopped or changed by int rning Mrs. Besant the foremost of the popular leaders, we are bound to tell them that they are entirely mistaken. The Government have been given immensepowers, in view of the war to curb the privileges of the people. As the agitation for home-rule is only a const constitutional political agitation, we hope our people will take it on hand and continue it, with an eye solely upon the welfare of their country, without minding any obstacles. How can the internment of some of their leaders for causes unknown to them be an obstacle to their efforts? As Mrs. Besant has been interned and thus prevented from doing any kind of work, it is impossible to repair the loss caused then thereby to the service of our country. But it will not an all abate the enthusiasm of the people who have b en carrying on the home-rule movement on constitutional lines, having her as one of the great leaders. We have known for some days past that Lord Pentland eventua ly yielded to the importunity of the bureaucrats and some papers, who sought their favour, that the publications of Mrs. Besant, as the editor of New India, and other speeches and efforts connected with home-rule should be stopped. But what is the reason for

the reason for interning Mr. Aurandale also? He was engaged chiefly in educational work. Even when he was the Secretary of the Home Rule League, he never spoke or wrote in strong terms about politics. Some months ago, our Government served an order under this law on Mr. Wadia prohibiting his delivering a lecture on home-rule. It should have then been decided that no other action was necessary in this case. For ought we know, he has not delivered any lecture on home-rule from March up to date. The people will come to their own conclusions as to the ground on which this new order was passed against him. This action of the Government on three individuals, who are not of this Province, will impress the people of this Province their national duties more deeply than before. It will encourage them to carry on their efforts for the acquisition of Home-rule more actively than heretofore; for such efforts are not concerned only with New India or Mrs. Besant and her disciples. Call it home rule or self-government; it is a thing about the acquisition of which according to the methods prescribed by our popular leaders, the national papers of our country and the leaders are at one. Need we say that therefore we are also bound to work hard, as usual, for the home-rule movement on constitutional lines and do such service as will help our countrymen to acquire the capacity for self-government? We do not venture to write more about the mental bewildernment caused to our people by the present action. We have to say one thing. It is stated by some that the Government of Madras only carry out the principles laid down by the Indian and the Imperial Governments and that they are not themselves so very keen in matters like this. We do not know what orders the Government of India with Lord Chemsford at its head has issued to the ~~orders the Government of India wil)~~ Local Government. But as far as the Imperial Government in England is concerned

the action and the principles of the Local Government are contrary to the former's view of the liberty of the people and the liberal opinions expressed by ministers and representatives in England about India. There, even the Seinfein leaders who were confined for having taken part in the Irish riot, were recently released without any condition. But in India popular leaders, who never took part in any riot and never even gave room to any suspicion that they did so and who were taking any amount of trouble for the Indian Defence Force have been interned under the Defence of India Act. How can both these actions be reconciled? The Imperial Government could never have contemplated one procedure for the Seinfeins who committed a political disturbance and another for those engaged in the home-rule movement in India. So we are all bound to set right the existing situation soon and secure the reforms which will help the speedy acquisition of Home Rule under the Government, through this Imperial Government itself.

The Swadesamitran of the 18th June, publishes the proceedings of a meeting held at Madanapalle to protest against the order of internment, in which it was urged that the three individuals now interned were loyal to the crore core and never did anything contrary to law, and that therefore this order should be cancelled in the interests of the Indians as well as those of the empire.

It also reproduces in Tamil the comments on this internment of the Leader of Allahabad which is reported to have stated that a legitimate national movement cannot be curbed by repressive measures alone, and that the enforcement of such measures by the authorities leads to results quite contrary to what they expect and gives a fresh impetus to the movement itself.

The Swadesamitran, of the 21st June, publishes from the pen of a correspondent the proceedings of a meeting heldin Gooty under the presidency of Diwan Bahadur Kesava Pillai,

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to protest against the order of the Government interning Mrs. Annie Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, which appear in the Hindu of the 20th idem.

Referring to this order of internment, the same paper observes:- The intensity of the public feeling about this action of the Government and the variety of ways in which it has manifested itself would have been noticed from the papers. Representatives have come from several districtsin this Presidency from the other Provinces to be present at the public meeting to be held this evening. Mr.S.R.Bomanji of Bombay has notified his intention to give a lakh of rupees in aid of the Home Rule League, and the object of this gift is to enable the league to protest against the efforts made prejudicially to our aims and ideals as decided by the Congress and the Muslim League. News is being received everyday of several popular leaders, who till very recently stood aloof from the Home Rule League, joining the same now. It is also stated that the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya has gone to Simla to have an interview with the Viceroy on the subject of these internments. It appears also that Mr. Baptista, the well-known Barrister of Bombay, is leaving for England to render the necessary aid in the matter of the appeal to be preferred there by Mr. Arundale against the order of the Madras Government. We trust that the Government will consider well the intensity of the feeling thus roused throughout India, and come forward promptly to adopt the necessary remedial measure.

Referring to the Public meeting to be convened in Madras on the 21st June to protest against this order, the Hindu Nesan of the same date writes:- As this public meeting is to be held to protest against an order passed by the Government, the expediencey of holding it has to be considered. The Government may, from their own standpoint, think that a meeting to protest against their order ought not to be convened. But taking into consideration their condition, the importance of the Government order just issued and other incidents

connected therewith, the public and their leaders feel that the Government have committed a blunder in taking a highly considerable action at this time and that it is their duty to impress upon the Government that their action iswrong and have therefore, decided to hold a meeting for the purpose. The conveners of the meeting are not, of course, unaware of the present situation. The good and evil consequences that that might ensue and the responsibilities that will fall upon their shoulders in conducting the meeting. Only some of the official members of the local Legislative Council have affixed their signatures to the notice convening the meeting but it would have been better if all of them hadsigned it. It would also be an excellent thing if there is a special change in the conduct of this meeting which will be noteworthy. It will suffice the persons in whose names the resolution stand merely move them, and the audience standing unanimously pass the same, as this meeting is one intended to signify our sorrow and not to ~~pass~~ display our ability to make a speech. The moving of the resolutions by great men and popular leaders is itself tantamount to their speaking volumes in support of the same. Besides, if at this meeting the movers of resolutions begin to speak they may, either through excess of grief or intensity of feeling, forget themselves and exceed all limits of moderation. If, on the other hand, the meeting is conducted as suggested above, it will be possible for the Government to understand that the people of this Presidency, even while afflicted with the greatest sorrow, bear it with much self-control; and it will also be possible for them to realise that the orders issued by the ... have not been approved by the popular leaders of this Presidency.

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In a leader under the heading "the present situation" the Hindu Nesan of the 18th June reverts to this subject and observes:- We can repeat nothing else about this pitiable incident than that the Government were not patient. We said that, when Mr. G. Subrahmania Ayyar was accused of sedition, the leaders in this Province and the Advocate-General interceded on his behalf with Sir Arthur Lawley. It was then stated and believed also that Sir Murray Hammick who was a member of Council at that time, proved by his conduct the good that a Member of council could do. One of the present members of the council could have given proper counsel to Lord Pentland, as Sir Murray Hammick did in the case of Mr. G. Subrahmania Ayyar. Considering over it deeply, the Government could have waited to see the effect of the communique issued by them. In this communique, they have stated that home-rule can be granted only step by step, while some of our people want it immediately. So these would do well, when speaking about it, to hint slyly that the measures now adopted are not compatiable with what will be done by the Government in the future. The Government have agreed to grant home rule to Ireland and given permission even for a convention to meet there. Seeing that the convention is being conducted properly they have now declared that all thosewho are confined during the riot in Ireland would be released. This action is really a happy augury of the benefit to come. We have to say with regret that measures such as those that have been adopted now are not, like the incident noted above, a happy augury of the grant of home-rule to India step by step.

Referring to these internments, the Lokopakari, of the 18th June, says:- Though many were of opinion that the ordinary law was sufficient to punish those who transgressed all bounds in speaking and writing and that there was no necessity for applying the Defence of India Act in this Pre-

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sidenc the Government have evidently thought that this Act should be applied in the case of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia and have taken the necessary action. every Every one know that the Government had an eye on these and that they might suddenly be booked. So no one will be surprised at their having been interned now. It had become natural for the Editor of New India to write and speak vehemently The saying that, the over-hasty is wanting in sense, is not false. This lady deemed herself to be an Indian patriot and , transgressing all bounds, wrote vehement articles about Swaraj for India. She has paid the penalty for having done so.

The Swadesamitran of the 19th June from the pen of a correspondent the proceedings of a public meeting held at Salem on the 17th idem to protest against these internments under the presidency of the Hon'ble Hon'ble Mr. V.V.Narasimha Ayyar, who in the course of his speech in Tamil, is reported to have made the following observations:- There is not one patriot who does not grieve at hearing of these internments. If the Government who have immense powers and strength, begin to oppose and suppress our effort s, we can do nothing more than pray to God for liberalising the views of this Government and those above them. Now dark clouds are hovering on every side in the political atmosphere of this country. We should, without getting disheartened, do our duty with the faith that every difficulty may occur is for our good and without expecting any result. First we should ~~(without getting disheartened)~~ communicate to the British Prime Minister that this internment of patriots, who have not been proved to have commited any offence, has provoked all of us. Moreover, we should take an oath that we would avoid as far as possible, all articles comming from other countries and use only articles made in our country. If our object is to be accomplished, we should all take up the Swadeshi

vow. We should not give it up, though it may cause loss to us and we may incur the displeasure of the Government thereby. If we do like this, our country will doubtless improve in her condition.

Mr. S.V.Subrahmanya Ayyar who moved the resolution condemning the action of the Government said,: "We have suffered a serious loss now. Lord Pentland has thrown a bomb amidst us. .... The Government will never care for us, as long as we do not act as we speak. We should boldly criticise by lawful means the measures of the Government. It is only then that the British authorities will listen to our prayers."

The Swadesamitran, of the 19th June, as well as the Hindu Nesan, of the 22nd June publish the proceedings of a public meeting at Coimbatore convened for the same purpose, in which a resolution is reported to have been passed condemning the action of the Government, and a suggestion made for a vow being taken by those present to use only Swadesi goods.

The Swadesamitran, of the 19th June, reproduces in Tamil the comments of the Amrita Bazaar Patrika and the Bengalee on these internments, which appear in the Hindu of the same date.

The Swadesamitran, of the 20th June, as well as the Hindu Nesan, of that date reproduces in Tamil the details of the interview of Mrs. Besant with His Excellency as stated by her to some friends, which appear in the Hindu of the same date.

In the course of a leader under the heading "Our political condition", the Swadesamitran, of the 20th June, observes Sir S. Subrahmania Ayyar has clearly pointed out in his appeal on behalf of Mrs. Besant that the internment order has deprised Mrs. Besant and others of all sources of income. There is no reason whatever for placing her in such a difficult position. Mrs. Besant cannot sell even the books on philosophy written by her long ago, and so the people can-

not sell even the books on philosophy written by her long ago, and so the people cannot hereafter have these books to read. As the head of the Theosophical Society, which is spread all over the world, she has been managing the work done by thousands of its branches and rendering great service in this direction. All these have been stopped now and she has been interned, without any guilt on her part having been proved. Need we point out how the action of our Government has caused regret and been criticised in several countries?

Though the resumption of the publication of New India, is, in a way a matter for gratification of the public, we hope they will not hesitate to perform their duty in connection with the action taken against Mrs. Besant. As a public meeting is to be held here tomorrow to protest against the action of the Government, we feel sure that every Indian having the welfare of the country at heart, will be present at it and condut the proceedings in an orderly manner. Understanding all this, the Anglo-Indian papers, which incessantly oppose the progress of our people and which are favoured by many of the Govenment officials have already begun to spread slanderous reports. Though there is nothing new in this, how can the conduct of these papers in writing as they please, without realising in the least the attitude of our people, be tolerated? Our Governor repeated more than once that he was not against the constitutional working of the home-rule campaign. But many Anglo-Indian papers are unanimous in saying that it is very necessary to put a stop to this campaign and in supporting these internment orders which, they say more were passed only for that purpose. So we hope our people would without paying heed to any unpatriotic proposal, not only gather strong at the meeting tomorrow and condut it properly but would also carry on the work conducive to the welfare of their country boldly and efficiently without, at the same time, transgressing the methods of the Government.

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The same paper publishes the proceedings of the meeting held at Calicut, Erode, Tenali and Kuchipudi to protest against these internment orders.

This paper also reproduces in Tamil the comments of the Parsi or the Prajamitra and the letter written by the Hon'ble Mr. V.S.Srinivasa Sastri to the Dhyan Prakash of Poona about these internments, which appear in the Hindu of the 20th June 1917.

Adverting to the public meeting held in Madras, under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. B.N.Sarma, to protest against the order of the Government interning Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, and referring to the notice posted at the place of the meeting, the students should not attend the meeting, the Swadesamitran, of the 22nd June, observes:- The very fact that even after excluding the students, people gathered in such large numbers at the meeting hall indicates beyond doubt, the extent to which the popular feeling has been roused. Not only we but the Government and the Anglo-Indian s as well should carefully read and bear in mind the facts referred to in the speeches of Sir S.Subrahmanya Ayyar, the Hon'ble Mr. B.N.Sarma, Mr. Kesava Pillai and other eminent men, who addressed the meeting, for the opinions expressed and the arguments adduced by these popular leaders have shown very clearly, how strongly the public condemn the policy of repression adopted at present by the Govenmnt towards home-rule and how greatly the people are attached to this ideal. We trust that Lord Pentland's Government will not fail to understand at least from this, the true nature of our political agitation and the effect of the repressive measures adopted by them to curb it. ~~Stronger and the effect of the repressive measures adopted by them to~~ Stronger adnd and more united efforts will hereafter be made to spread the idea of home-rule among the people more widely. The Congress-men and the home-rule League, who have till recently been

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working on different lines, are joining together. From the telegrams received, our readers would be aware that many congressmen in this and the other presidencies are now joining the Home Rule League. Mr. Bomanji Petit of Bombay has promised a lakh of rupees in aid of this league and has written an important letter condemning the repressive measures of the Government.

Here the paper quotes portions of this letter, refers to the statement made by the members of the Recruiting Committee Allahabad, that they can no longer work for the recruitment for the army; and to the letter of a correspondent published in the Tribune of Lahore suggesting that all elected members of the Legislative Council would do well to resign their membership in the Council and signify their proetest against the action of the Government. The paper continues:- We believe that certain arrangements will be made to expeditiously conduct the home-rule movement. The Hon'ble Mr. Narasimha Ayyar said in his speech that proper men should be trained and sent to preach home-rule in villages. Though it was till now difficult to get the money necessary for this work yet after the issue of the order by the Government the richest down to the poorest have come forward to contribute their mite Many have taken the vow to use Swadeshi articles only and promote the welfare of the country. Thus in many ways have the people strongly decided to advance the interests of their highly cherished ideal of home rule. but we must lay stress upon the fact that without any hatred they act with calmness of judgment and strength of mind. The action taken by the Government, irrespective of the opinions expressed by the leaders of the people, to suppress, without reason, the home-rule agitation that has established itself throughout India, has after all ended to our advantage contrary to the expectations of the enemies of India's progress. Every one can now see that the home-rule movement will gain strength and grow.

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Referring to this meeting the Hindu Nesan of the 22nd June, has the following:- It should be said that the meeting took place yesterday with the help of Providence to some extent. We indeed, expected that the Government would prohibit the holding of the meeting to protest against an internment order that the Collector of Madras interviewed the popular leaders of this Presidency and those who came from outside and said that the holding of the meeting would be permitted on their assuring him that no words, which would exceed all limits ~~be~~ ~~(perm)~~ of moderation or would stir up the feelings of the people, would be given utterance ~~d~~ to at the meeting. We are glad however, that quite contrary to our expectation, the meeting was conducted and that it went on peacefully. We express our heartfelt thanks to the Government for the magnanimity shown by them in not prohibiting the meeting.

The Swadesamitran and the Hindu Nesan, of the 22nd June also publish in detail the proceedings of this meeting which appear in the Hindu of the same date.

The Swadesamitran, of the 22nd June, also publishesa long account of the proceedings of the above meeting from the pen of an esteemed correspondent, which contains the following observations:- Unlike some of the citizens of this city all those that had come from outside expressed, without any reserve, what they felt, and we can easily understand their attitude from what they spoke as to the measures to be adopted hereafter. .... Those that witnessed the meeting would have observed that most of the men present were only non-Brahmans. Several actions of the Non-Brahmans community, men of different walks of life and labourers wou who eke out their bread through daily wages assembled at the meeting. Though they had not the capacity to understand the proceedings ~~(of the factories had come)~~ the meeting by attending in person

several labourers employed in the Madras factories had come there to have a view of Sriman Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar, who in his old age and declining health, has taken the lead in this new movement with undiminishing enthusiasm and strength of Mind.

The paper publishes reports of correspondents giving brief accounts of the proceedings of the meetings held at Kumbakonam and Srivaikuntam to protest against the order of the Madras Government interning Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, accounts of which appear in the Hindu of the 22nd June.

The Swadesamitran, of the 25th June, publishes reports, from correspondents, of the public meetings held at Trichinopoly Conjeevaram and Tindivanam to protest against the order of the Madras Government interning Mrs. Besant and Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia. A swadeshi vow is reported to have been taken at the meetings held at Trichinopoly and Tindivanam.

The following appears in the report of the public meeting held at Omalur for the same purpose, as communicated by the Secretary of the Salem Home Rule League to the Swadesamitran of the same date:- Omalur is the headquarters of a taluk and is 10 miles distant from salem. A bigger meeting than this has never met at this place before, nor has there been such an enthusiasm till now. We are grateful to Lord Pentland for having helped in spreading the national spirit even in hamlets India has awoke from a profound sleep.

A correspondent also reports to this paper by wire the details connected with the action of the Inspector of Police at Tuticorin in obstructing a public meeting held there to protest against the above order, under the presidency of Mr. Balasubbarayulu chettiyar, and referring to this and to the warning given by the Collector of Madras to the leaders of the people at the public meeting held at Madras to protest

against the same order, this paper observes:- It is necessary for us to say that it is not desirable for the Government Officials to interfere in this manner, so as to curtail popular liberty. The Inspector of Police at Tuticorin this manner, so as to curtail popular liberty. The Inspector of Police at Tuticorin seems to haves stated that he dissolved the meeting, as he received no orders from the Government on the subject. Even if he had said so, the reason assigned by him is a strange one! What authority has he to obstruct a public meeting? Under the Defence of India Act, the Government alone have powers to do anything they like without the necessity of proving the reasons for their action in a court of Law. It is under the unlimited powers they have under this Act that they have taken an action against Mrs. Besant and others which does not appear to be reasonable in the eyes of the people. It is only the Provincial Governments that have the power to act under such a dangerous law, but not officials like Inspectors of Police who are subordinate to them. It is a matter for surprise that the Police Inspector of Tuticorin should have been overzealous in this matter, when the Government themselves have expressed that it is not their intention to prohibit protest meetings. The action of the above Inspector will clearly illustrate to everyone the evil effects of the adoption by the Government of repressive measures under cover of a power to inflict punishment without resorting to a court of law. It is true that he professed to act under the Defence of India Act, the Government should inquire into the matter immediately and it is also necessary that the leaders of Tuticorin should seek proper remedy in a court of law.

Adverting to the letters written to the press by the Raja of Kurupan and Dr. T.M.Nayar with reference to the orders of the Government of Madras interning Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, the Dravidan, of the 25th June, writes:- Wise peop people will deem all this to be only the result of an exuberance of feeling and nothing else. The Government waitedas long as they could. But before the flood became uncontrollable, they had to raise the dam and their action is a just one in every way.

Moreover, it is undesirable that His Excellency the Governor should be unnecessarily found fault with in this matter. It is a fact well known to all that our Governorwas patient as far as it was possible for him. That he did not issue any stringent order about Mrs. Besant till many days after some other Provincial Governments and had prohibited her from entering their provinces, indicates clearly his patience and magnanimity.

The Swadesamitran, of the 26th June reproduces in Tamil the proceedings of a public meeting held at Lucknow under the presidency of the Hon'ble Pandit Jagat Narayan to protest against the order of the Madras Government interning Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, which appear in English the Hindu of the same date.

The same paper publishes also short reports of the proceedings of the public meetings held at Kulittalai, Nandalur, Alattur, Hubli and Raisipur and that of the meetings held at Calcutta under the auspices of the Bengal Muslim League to protest against the above order. The prodeedings of the meeting held at Rasipur was wholly in tamil and those present took the Swadeshi vow. The meeting of the Bengal Mu

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Muslim League to protest against the above o/rder. The proceedings of the meeting held at Rasipur was wholly in Tamil and those present took the Swadeshi vow. The meeting of the Bengal Muslim League requested all elected members of the Legislative Council to resign their seats in the Council in a body to signify their protest. The paper again publishes in Tamil the proceedings of the Public meeting held at Allahabad under the presidency of Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru to protest against the same order, in which the following observations are reported to have been made by the President:- All of us know the reason for the internment of Mrs. Besant. The only reason is the avarice of the bureaucrats, who are afraid that the unlimited powers wielded by them for the last 100 years will go out of their hands, as the Indians are now fit for home-rule. They will never admit this reason.

The Swadesamitran, of the 22nd June, reproduces in Tamil the letter of Mr. S.R.Bomanji writted to the Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah on the present situation which contains the following observations:- His Excellency Lord Pentland should not have spoken about the Home-rule movement in the Legislative Council in the way he did, and used the powers he had under the ~~Defence~~ Defence of India Act in interning the three patriots. They could have been dragged before a court of law. It is only such application of the Defence of India Act that has given rise to constitutional agitation on the part of the people. No self-respecting person would accept as just this unreasonable prodedure of the Madras Government.

The same paper publishes in Tamil the letter of a correspondent to the Tribune of Lahore in which he urges the elected members of the Legislative Council to signify their protest against the action of the Madras Government in interning Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, which runs as follows:- I would venture to say that the proper form of protest will

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be for the Honourable Members to immediately resign their seats. If they do not do so, the public will ask them to do so. This is a most critical period in our national life. It is therefore, an important duty to take some true and decisive action at the present moment. Protest meetings and and resolutions are good in their own way. But we have to do some better work still. It is proper for us to make such kind of protest as would be acceptable to all. It is, therefore, unnecessary for me to dilate much upon this matter.

The same paper also publishes in Tamil the commentof the Tribune of Lahore on the above letter, which is to the following effect: We cannot say anything now on this proposal However, we know that this form of protest has been observed with effect in three great Presidencies. If such a necessity arises, the elected members of the three provinces will act up to it; those of the two others may then follow suit.

The Dravidan, of the 22nd June gives an abstract ofthe proceeding of the meeting held in Madras under the Presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. B.N.Sarma to protest against the internment of Mrs. Besant and her two collagues, with the following observation:- The gathering was one mainly of Brahmans. It is understood that a few Non-Brahmans also were there. However ~~we know that this form of protest has been observed with~~ effect in three great Presidencies. If such a necessity arises the elected members of the three provinces will act up to it; those of the two others may then follow suit.

The Dravidan of the 22nd June, gives an abstract of the proceedings of the meeting held in Madras However, it does not appear that a single Muhammadan, Anglo-Indian or Indian Christian was present on the Platform.

The Swadesamitran, of the 23rd June, publishes in Tamil the letter written by Muhammadan Safthar Hussain contradicting the statement made in the Madras Times of the 22nd idem that no Muhammadans were present at the above meeting.

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The same paper reproduces in Tamil an article from the Kesari of Poona about the order of the Government of Madras interning Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, in which the following observations occur:- The application of the Defence of India Act against Mrs. Besant and her colleagues is an act done by the Government transgressing their limits. It appears that the old policy of joining the moderates and crushing the extremists has been revived.

This is the proper time for us to acquire home-rule. Such an opportunity will not occur for a hundred years to come. If through our own fault we let go this opportunity, our enemies will find out that we are not yet free from jealousy, cowardice and faction and think of gaining an advantage thereby. They are even now doing like that. Be bold and vigilant; otherwise, you will entangle yourselves into the snared laid out for you by the enemy.

The same paper publishes a telegraphic summary, from a correspondent of the report of a meeting held at Kandra Manikkam in Ramnad district to protest against the above order of the Government and reproducs in Tamil the speech made by the Hon'ble Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao at the public meeting held in Madras on the 21st June 1917 to protest against the above order.

Referring to the reply of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir A. Williamson in the Parliament regarding the internment of Mrs. Besant and her colleagues, the same paper observes:- The reply of the Secretary of State for India does not appear to have been given with a knowledge of the facts. We think that the notion previously formed in his mind that the actions of his subordinates in which he says, he greatly regards. We would point out therefore that it is highly essential that our congressmen should shake off their lethargy and work, so that the Secretary of State, the Prime Minister and the Parliament may realise the true state of affairs.

Referring to the internment of Mrs. Besant and others, the Yogakshemam, of the 22nd June, writes:-

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The Government are free to say anything and act in accordance with what they say. The 'Home Rulers' arefree only to speak, and this freedom itself has its limitations The order of internment has been issued, because His Excellency ~~thmx~~ Lord Pentland, Governor of Madras, thought that Mrs. Besant and her assistants transgressed this limited freedom.

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This order of the Madras Government has produced great unrest, not only in this Presidency, but throughout the Indian Empire, though the newspapers conducted by whitemen, refer to it highly eulogistic terms. Altogether (?anyhow) this incident is the subject of talk wherever four persons meet.

Whatever her efforts in the direction of home-rule may be, that this lady is one who works on behalf of the Indians without any idea of self, is the general opinion in India For this reason, and because of the thought that this evil has befallen her on account of her advocacy of their cause, it seems to us that there is some force in the contention of a majority of the Indians that this order of the Madras Governor was extremely bad. Mrs. Besant says that she has said nothing about the Indian administration which went beyond the views of the Indian National Congress. If it has seemed to the Madras Government that the opinion of the Congress is one that may be disregarded, it can never be thought to be a good sign. It does not also seem to us to be a sound administrative poli[cy] to give room for a great though unnecessary unrest, especial[ly] at this war time.

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On the whole the Government have roused the Madras Presidency which had been sleeping quietly in a manner beyond conception. God alone knows what the result of all this will

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Referring to the same subject, the Desabhimani, of the 23rd June, points out that the agitation for self-government in which the Congress and the Muslim League have now joined, is a long standing one, and that self-government is one of the demands contained in the memorandum of the nineteen official members of the Imperial Legislative Council, and observes that the Government's difference with Mrs. Besant and her followers is, not about the demand for self-govern ment, but with reference to the time when it may be granted and to the methods adopted by them in their advocacy of the same and that amongst Indians themselves there are many who take strong exception to these methods.

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322. **A homily on home-rule.**

(Dated 18th June 1917, para 45, page 1849)

The Lokopakari of the 18th June writes:- Ever since the war began the people of every country have become eager to obtain liberty and there is therefore nothing surprising in India also entertaining such a desire. The aim of the Indians is only that India should have self-government under the British Rule and an equal status with the colonies. This desire of the Indians has been growing ever since the war began. But our Governor gave it out as the opinion of this Government, at the last meeting of the Legislative Council, that the Indians should not speak of the efforts necessary to accomplish this aim and that repressive measures would be introduced for the purpose of curbing such efforts. This opinion has been seriously criticised throughout India and has led to the leaders of the Muslim, League who are keeping aloof till now, joiningthe Indian Home Rule League. It has created a stir throughout the country. The Government who have often stated that controversial questions should not be discussed in Legislative Councilsduring the period of the war, themselves begin at

at times to make controversial pronouncements. It would have been better if our Governor, instead of speaking on Home-rule in the Legislative Council, had issued earlier the communique published on Thursday last. No one would come out to object to those who write and speak transgressing all bounds, being punished.

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323. **Short notes.**

(Dated 21st June 1917, para 46, page 1850)

The Dravidan of the 21st June, contains the following short notes on home rule and the order of the Government int-interning Mrs. Besant:- Some Indian politicians might say that home rule is the only thing that the Government and the people should at this moment, bear in mind. But of the great war in which the British Government is now engaged, social reform, industrial agricultural advancement, and the elevation of the depressed classes they think not. They think that all the Indians should concentrate their attention in the acquisition of the home-rule. Yet there are wise men among them who think that it is the sole duty of every one to help the Government at this juncture. Most of the Non-Brahmans have not taken part in condemning the actions of the Government. But a few, who have neither depth of wisdom nor strength of mind, fall into the snares of the people who raise a loud cry for home-rule. It is for the Britishers to grant home-rule to India and the know when to grant it.

The internment of Mrs. Besant by the Madras Government is considered by some as a hindrance not only to political reform, but also to religious activity. If she had been left free on the score of her religious work, would she not have dabbled in politics, disregarded the Government and roused certain people. It will be quite clear from this

Caused greater confusion and mischief in this country in respect of politics? Had she attached greater importance to religious work she would not have

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from this from this that she attached greater importance to political agitation.

Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar has written a letter to the Hindu appealing to the public for funds on behalf of Mrs. Besant for her maintenance. Alas ! The efforts made by her to secure a result which can be enjoyed only by a few have become fruitless and these efforts could well be made fifty years hence as all the people would then be eligible for home rule. It is a great blunder that she ventured to cary on this agitation in the present condition of India. We understand that she has left all her sources of income at the disposal of the public to be utilised for the home-rule movement. Proceeds from the sale of her publications could not have been her only source of income. What, then, is this appeal of Mr. Subrahmanya Ayyar for? It is, perhaps, to test the extent of her influence and the esteem borne by the people towards her!

The Madras Government do deserve our sympathy. They have framed certain rules for the welfare of the students of this Presidency and for the maintenance of order here. This action is approved by men of sound judgment. The Government cannot now put up with the height of disrespect shown to them by some. Political reformers should well realise the present situation and keep quiet. It is not just to add to the difficulties already existing on account of war other ones caused by the agitation for home-rule. Though there may be differences between the Government and the popular leaders in political matters, yet a spirit of co-operation is indispensable at this juncture.

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324. **Home-rule and how ~~him~~ to acquire it.**

(Dated 19th June 1917, Para 48, page 1851).

The Dravidan, of the 19th June, applauds action of the Government in interning Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia as a wise one taken after deep consideration ~~hm~~ about the harm that may result to the country by the agitation of home-rulers, and observes:- The Government do not wantto hamper the efforts of those who train the people gradually t have home-rule for India under the British Empire ultimately. Before giving having home-rule, education should be spread wide among the people in this country they should acquire a knowledge, of , and take an interest in public matters, soci reforms should be introduced and caste distinctions done away with altogether. This will mean the work of many years. If th Government grant home-rule immediately in recognition of a few services rendered to them by the Indians in this war, it will only leadto either the creation of disturbances among the people and a speely destruction of the machinery of the Government itself or the powers of the Government being exercised by only a few. But those crying for home-rule do not recognise this. They think that they are preparing the peop for home-rule and transgress all bounds in criticising the existing administration, thereby marring the affinity betwe the Government and the people. If the home-rule is to be h at any time, the knowledge and experience required for it ca not be acquired unless it be through this Government. So, those really working for home-rule should, without joining with those violently fighting for it, begin to reform the country as noted above. Ordinary people and students should not be made to hate the Government.

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325. **Home - Rule.**

(Dated 23rd June 1917, para 53, page 1852)

The Dravidan of the 23rd June publishes an appeal made by a correspondent on the subject of the non-Brahman movement in the course of which the following observations occur:- The time for home-rule is when the whole Indian community unite in working for the advancement of their country. In the meanwhile it is not proper on the part of some to hold meetings at several places and importune our begnign English Government to grant us home-rule at once, while all their attention and efforts are engaged in the European war. It was realising that this that His Excellency Lord Pentland spoke in the Legislative Council condemning the home-rule ideal. The Home-rulers are passing resolutions protesting against his speech. But it is the Government that are well aware of the condition of the country and the nature of the people.

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326. **The Swarajya Movement.**

(Dated 17th June 1917, para 55, page 1853).

The Desabhimani of the 17th June, says:- The whole of India expressed its keen resentment at the speech of Lord Pentland against the home-rule movement. National education received a new impetus. Dr. S. Subrahmanya Ayyar wrote that he would not give up the post of Secretary to the Home Rulee League, and that he was prepared to undergo any punishment Honourable Members like Mr. Venkatapati Raju boldly asserted that the utterances of Lord Pentland curbed constitutional agitation. We hope Lord Pentland will see the impropriety of his speech and be pacified. It is a surprise that while Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, said that India should cease to be a dependency after the war and be a partner in the British Empire, Lord Pentland, who is provincial Governor declared the very desire to be such a partner improper. We

do not know when the angle of vision of Lord Pentland will change. To add insult to injury, her he ordered the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale, and enjoined silence upon them. We submit that the policy of punishment will cause unrest, that good Government can be established only by love, and that Lord Pentland will do well to see that self-government is granted to India.

Kistna patrika, of the 23rd June, says in its leader:- It is said that all religious endeavour in India ends as a political movement.... That which establishes the freedom of the soul is duty. The goal of religion is emancipation. The realization of the truth, "To be subject to oneself is happiness, and to depend on others is misery," is the end of duty....To enjoy freedom inside and suffer bondage outside is not in the nature of things. When the soul is excited, its natural qualities cannot but come to light. When salvation is secured within, Swaraj will also be secured without. .... Mrs. Besant is a theosophist. Her idea is that unless hostility among the wise men of the different countries is replaced by brotherhood, race, hatred will not see its end. She tried to attract them all to the Theosophical Society and thus establish equality among them all. But as India is at present dependent on others, she could not carry on this work unobstructedly. Brotherhood thrives only among equals and not where there are differences. India has no honour in the world. In the opinion of the Westerners India is a country of coolies. .... She is under the control of others and cannot govern herself. In the eyes of the westerners, a country that does not enjoy political liberty and a race that has no swaraj is no country and no race. The Indians may be men of talent and wisdom, but they are servants, slaves and coolies. They have no authority to sit by the side of civilised westerners. If India should gain the friendship of civilised countries, Indians should get political liberty. If a blending of the west

and the east should be secured and the whitemen and the coloured races should behave in friendly terms with one another, India shoul should have self-government. Till tis is got, the theosophic ideal namely, the brotherhood of man, cannot be realised. It is to gain this end that Mrs. Besant entered the political arena... She has brought all parties to one aunited front, and gave unusual force and strength to political efforts....She deserves to be called the embodiment of British liberty, and as if to publish the eternal truth about India, she set up the Swaraj banner. But this attempt is yet inadequate. A movement is to be set on foot, to consolidate still further the united strength of Indians to acquaint the British public with depressed condition of the Indians, and to make the different countries listen to the strong feelings of the Indians. Under Providence the authorities got angry with Mrs. Besant. She was interned with her followers Messrs. Arundale and Wadia. We are seeing every moment what a strong feeling, devotion and renunciation is manifested as a consequence of this. The old Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar has come to the front with an enthusiasm and courage that put young men to shame..... Mr. Telang has taken up the editorship of New India. Those who were hesitating to join the Home Rule Leagues till now, are becoming members thereof. ..... In England, the friends and disciples of Mrs. Besant are waking up. English women who advocate freedom cannot be indifferent. The socialists also will interfere. Mrs. Besant weilds influence in many countries. These countries cannot but turn their attention to India.

The same paper contains a telugu version of the conversation between His Excellency the Governor and Mrs. Besant.

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326. **Mrs. Besant**

(Dated 21st June 1917, para 56, page1854)

The Andhra Patrika of the 21st June publishes a Telugu version of the conversation between Mrs. Besant and His Excellency the Governor on the 16th June.

In its leader, the Andhra Patrika, of the 23rd June gives in Telugu the concluding portion of the article of the Times of India regarding Mrs. Besant's internment, in which occur the following:- It may be said that we are by slow degrees giving education to the people and allowing them political privileges with a view to train them in the administration of the country. But taking the present times into consideration, we are very slow. .... The British Govern ment are doing their best to solve the Irish question. Can we not do our best to remove reasonable unrest and to satisfy the people's desire? The paper concludes the leaderette with the remarks that it is unnecessary on its part to commen on the above.

The same paper gives in Telugu a summary of the speech of Diwam Bahadur Kesava Pillai in the protest meeting held at Madras. It publishes in Telugu the letter of Mr. Aziz-ud-din Muhammad, a Salt Inspector, who resigned his office, in which he expresses his sympathy with the home-rule movement. The paper then publishes in Telugu a letter from one belonging to the Alliance Bank, Simla, in which the writer says:- I trust that all the leaders of the people will jointly submit a memorial to the Secretary of State for India and see that Lord Pentland is called back to England.

The Andhra Patrika of the 20th June gives the opinion of The Civil and Military Gazette Lahore, and the Indian daily Telegraph, Lucknow, regarding the internment of Mrs. Besant The former ex'resses its approval of the measure and the latter indic es its disapproval at the same time advising

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the national leaders not to provoke the anger of the Government.

The Andhra parakasika, of the 22nd June remarks that the statement of Rao Bahadur Kesava Pillai to the effect that the Government were influenced in their action against Mrs. Besant and others by the writing of the Justice, excites ridicule and surprise.

The Andhrapatrika of the 21st June contains a Telugu version of the opinions of the Parsi and the Advocate of India on the Madras internments, and a report in Telugu of the proceedings of the Gooty protest meeting.

The Desamata, of the 20th June says in its leader:- Power is given under the Defence of India Act to intern persons who conspire with the Germans or who carry on any agitation prejudicial to the war. The Act has not been intended to be enforced against persons carrying on lawful Swaraj agitation, etc., approved of by all the people. It is regrettable that it is enforced against such persons. The news of the internment of Mrs. Besant ~~was born in a free~~ and her assistants has spread throughout India and caused sorrow sorrow and surprise to all those why know them. Mrs. Besant was born in a free country, breathed free atmosphere, and moved with free people for a long time. So, she might have in her writings and speeches manifested a free spirit and criticised matters in strong language. Internment is an improper punishment for this. She says that India should always be connected with England and does not advocate a severance of the connection. Her devotion to the crown is beyond all descriptions, and her hatred for the Germans is also remarkable. She rendered great help in the matter of the war loan. .... We fear that when those who follow constitutional methods meet with such troubles, the people may loose all confidence in lawful methods so that the Government will do well to reconsider this matter.

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The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 23rd June writes:- We cannot say that the idea of internment of Mrs. Besant originated from the Madras Government. Probably the Government of India are the authors of the order. They, too, may have acted only with the sanction of the Home Government. A few papers such as the Englishman, the Daily news and the Statesman say that Mrs. Besant was wrong to have carried on the home rule agitation at a critical time like this and that the Government did well to restrain her. The Indian Daily News says that Mr. Gandhi too should be restrained in like manner. The Amrita Bazaar Patrika, the Bengali, the Tribune and many others say that the Government of India are wrong to have used the Defence of India Act in a case like this that this goes to show that it is the intention of the Government of India not to grant democratic rights to India, that this policy is opposed to the traditions of the British Government, that the empire will;ultimately be a great loser on account of this policy, that the attitude of their s will only strengthen the fight for home rule, that those officers who tried to do harm to this country have only done good after all and that like Lord Curzon Lord Chelmsford and Lord Pentland will only be among the benefactors of the country in the end. At a protest meeting at Allahabad under the Presidency of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the order was condemned and the Secretary of State was appealed to for its cancellation. A like resolution was passed at the protest meeting in Madras. The members of the Legislative Councils and other responsible citizens attended the meeting fearlessly expressed their views and indicated that they would work for home rule with even greater vigour than before. A fund has been instituted in aid of Mrs. Besant and sub-scriptions are pouring in and include many anonymous contributions. It is believed that the Government have only served to increase her popularity and caused her to be deified. It seems likely

that the sensation will yet increase. Many more % might be arrested and kept in confinement. A large number might be harassed. It is said that all this will lead to the obtaining of home rule in the end. "There is a Divinity that shapes our ends." History is replete with instances to show that God ordains differently from what man might propose in his narrowmindedness. Instead of keeping Mrs. Besant in confinement in this manner, they would have done well to induce her by some device to abandon her home rule agitation during the present crisis and to confine herself to religious work.

In a lengthy leading article, giving a review of the situation which led to the internment of Mrs. Besant etc., the Mysore star, of the 26th June applauds the action of the Government in proceeding to put an end to her political activities and concludes its remarks as follows:- ~~Carried awa by her political activities, and concludes its~~ Carried away by the stream of applause from educated Indians, Mrs. Besant forgot herself so far as to criticise the Government in a most unrestrained fashion and at last brought herself to gried, which is the inevitable result of all such precipitateness. It is not known whether the Government would permit her to continue the work she was doing as President of the ~~Government~~ Theosophical Society. If Mrs. Besant instead of advocating such extreme views, had directed her energies towards the work of reforming the Indians and guiding the authorities, she could certainly have stepped into the place of the late Mr. Gokhale. We are sad to see that it was ordained otherwise. Her followers, it is to be hoped, will now at least give up their mad extremism and turn to quite and lawful methods of obtaining self-government. The British administrators are not incognizant of the state of affairs in this country. It may safely be affirmed that out of 35 crores forming the total population of India, 34 crores at least have not even heard the word self-government uttered by any body. Out of the other one crore, it is doubtful whether

etc., on the subject of the recent internments which, in view of the Governor's recent speech and of the Government communique, did not come upon the people as a surprise, points out that, though the desire for immediate "home-rule," may be somewhat excessive, it cannot be said to be either wrong or against law, that Mrs. Besant's attempt to spoil young students is in its opinion the most serious charge against her, but that it is not aware whether she has done anything to deserve her present punishment, and observes that, inasmuch as these internments have produced great unrest amongst certain people, whic might possibly be due to the belief that the Government took this step because they demanded home-rule, the Government should make clear to them the object and reason thereof, which, if done, will tendto remove the dissatisfaction among the people, except perhaps among those who worship Mrs. Besant. The paper also observes that, as Messrs. Arundale and Wadia are not known to have done anything to deserve such a punishment, except that they are co-workers with Mrs. Besant, the Government will also do well to explain the necessity for their internment.

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327. The Home-rule propaganda.

(Dated 22nd June 1917, para 60, page 1858).

The Andhra Patrika, of the 22nd June, publishes in Telugu version of the letter of the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya addressed to the editor of the Leader regarding home-rule.

The same paper publishes a Telugu version of the letter of Dr. Sapru, addressed to the Leader, which contains the following:- The friends of LordPentland and the Anglo-Indian papers think that the utterances of Lord Pentlandare opportune. But this does not fit in with the opinion of the Indian political reformers, who say, "such indiscreet words never fell from the lips of any ruler of late." His Excellen-

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Excellency lacks both patience and foresight. In the Irish agitation, there is even anarchism, and the Government has to put up with even that. It is true that the Governmentare all-powerful. In the interest of the rulers and the ruled ~~that the Government are~~ alike however, it is desirable that the Government should not act with such extreme rigour. It is impossible to overrate the amount of good Mrs. Besant has done to India. WMith the advent of English education there w a danger of our educated men becoming materialists. It is through her theosophical teachings that Mrs. Besant opened the eyes of these atheists among us and her services in this direction have been invaluable. When even persons of the type of Gokhale had to put up with the threatening to of the authorities like Lord Curzon, what wonder that Mrs Besant has to submit to similar treatment now. Since h methods of agitation were wholly constitutional, the o thing that remains for all loyal citizens to do is to to the British Statesmen to ask the Government to giv its present attitude of repression.

Apropos of the recent internments, the Uttara of the 23rd June, points out that Mrs. Besant and he ciates were able to make so much noise, because of t ordinary patience of the good-natured Lord Pentland, however was mistaken for weakness, refers to her rep statements that the Government were not bold enough such extreme step as this against her, because the would protest against it, heartily congratulates th on their determination, though rather belated, to I to their evil deeds, and observes that Messrs. Sub th and others, ~~km~~ who may conduct New India, will hav change the policy of the ~~pa~~ per unless they wish tofo trinity into enforced rest.

Writing on the same subject, the Kerala Pati the 23rd June refers to the criticisms, protest

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Protest meetings are being held at almost every place. If one of our type should try to analyse the events of the 16th June the result will be nothing but confusion. Lord Pentland is the British Liberal Party. His knowledge, experience and position are all an exalted type. His own words go to show that he is a lover of liberty. Moreover, the day previous to the internments he has himself announced that self-government is legitimate ideal and that constitutional agitation is not objectionable. Those that have known Lord Pentland intimately are agreed that His Excellency is very kind-hearted. Now, speaking of Mrs. Besant, in the first place, she is an English woman by Nationality. It would be wrong even to doubt her loyalty. Secondly, her aim is no other than self-government for India with in the empire to which Lord Pentland does not object. Mrs. Besant has made this fact clear a thousand times in her speeches as well as writings. The Government cannot maintain that her methods in trying to achieve this prefectly lawful end were either unconstitutional or dangerous to the Government established by law in British India or prejudicial to the public peace, or to the prosecution of war. It is a long time since New India, and the Home Rule League were established. The keenest detective cannot say that during the peirod they have been in existance there has been either in this or any other provinces any disturbance of the public peace, unrest or sensation proceeding from these two institutions. The truth is Mrs. Besant was herself very loyal and her institutions and methods were therefore all equally constitutional. If we remember the fact that Lord Pentland is a liberal, we are at a loss to know why the Government acted in this manner. When we see that His Excellency stated that the advocates of home-rule were violent and intemperate in their criticisms against the administration and that Mrs. Besant is interned in consequence the very next day, we cannot help observing that His

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wholly absorbed in matters connected with the present war. So soon as this matter comes to their notice, this order against Mrs. Besant will be withdrawn. Were not the patriotic Irish prisoners released? It does not matter much if Mrs. Besant suffers for a short time for the sake of India. It is given only to a fortunate few to be thus sacrificed on the alter of home-rule, and Mrs. Besant [it] is thus truly blessed. Possibly it is this good fortune of Mrs Besant that made Lord Pentland, otherwise a righteous person, to pass such an order. No one need feel sorry for this. His Excellency has by his action give an opportunity to the many sons and daughters of India to walk in the foot-steps of Mrs. Besant and for this all India ought to be grateful to him.

The paper also publishes a letter from a lady correspondent who subscribes herself "an Indian lady" reproducing the substance of the above.

In a highly eulogistic comment on the manifesto issued by Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar, the Sampad Abhyudaya of the 26th June in a leading article makes observations similar to those given above.

On the same subject in its columns of general news, the Sampad Abhyudaya of the 27th June writes: In America (?) when an attempt was made to send General Smuts to prison, 20,000 men of his party got themselves ready to go to jail with him, and it was found difficult to confine such a large number. If a similar situation should arise in India is it possible to build a prison which would hold Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar as also the thirty crores of people with him? -- asks a correspondent. This question hardly needs an answer.

Writing on the same subject, the Swadesabhimani, of the 22nd June observes:- The news has spread everywhere even in villages. That the step taken by the Government is not wise one from the view point of public opinion is evident from the bulk of criticisms in the Indian Press.

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the advocates of self-government would number one lakh. The present sympathetic interest of the British Public towards India, however, is not due to the agitation by this one lakh but to the courage and heroism displayed by those (most of whom are probably illiterate) who have gone to the front and shown their readiness to lay down their lives in their loyal service to the Empire. We must say that it is due to these heroes that a new era has dawned in the history of this country. Just as the cow gives milk owing to its affection for its calf, the Ministry in England is liberally disposed towards India owing to the doings of these brave Indian soldiers. But our extremists seem in their greed seized with a desire to cut off the udder itself and are thus exasperating the cow. Those who are around her have therefore to feel afraid of the kicks she might give. ~~It is~~ Is it not unfortunate that when the authorities are themselves ready to assign a better place to India and have of their own accord made suggestions to that effect, the Indians instead of engaging themselves in activities which would enhance their good will, should advocate radical views and serve to harden a melting heart? We hope that the popular leaders will now at least abandon their extremism and help to cultivate mutual good-will and thus promote the progress of the country.

Under the heading "the British sense of justice," the Sampad Abhyudaya of the 27th June writes:- Generally speaking the British are a fair-minded people. ..... It is wrong to suppose that Lord Pentland's order prohibiting Mrs. Besant from making any speeches originated from the British people. The British will never appreciate this Act of His Excellency and we have no doubt that in the end Lord Pentland will meet with due retribution. Did not Lord Curzon suffer for his autocratic measures? Is Lord Pentland a greater man than Lord Curzon? The British people and Government are now

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speech shows that he lacks the power to discriminate between what is traditional and what is opposed to traditon. .... The truth is that the orders of the Governments regarding students and politics indicate not only incapacity and unwisdom, but also cowardice on the part of the Governments. The same paper contains a Telugu version of the letter of Mr. J.B. Petit addressed to newspapers, protesting against the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia. It also contains a Telugu Version of the proceedings of the Punjab Indian Association protesting against the enforcement of the Defence of the India Act against Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale.

The same paper says that the Berhampur Swaraj League has in a meeting adopted a resolution criticising the speech of His Excellency Lord Pentland in the Legislative Council. It contains a Telugu Version of the article of the Times of India, on Mrs. Besant's internment. It also publishes a Telugu version of the correspondence from the pen of Deva Das which contains:- Formerly the members of the Executive Council of the Government of India were not in favour of the internment of Mrs. Besant, but now this wrong act was done at the instance of some- ..... As far as I know there are no serious grounds justifying the Government to act like this. Alas! What a pity! .... Under the present circumstances, no political speaker or author is safe. He does not know what course to follow, and where lawful criticism of Government Officers ends and where criticism coming under the purview of the Defence of India Act begins, where criticism coming under the purview of the Defence of India Act begins. .... Mrs. Besant has been deprived of all sources of income. It is our duty to send a representation about this to the Government of His Majesty the King-Emperor. In giving the proceedings of the public meeting held at Madras to protest against the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale, the same paper

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~~pa~~ gives in Telugu version of the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. B.N. Sarma, and a summary in Telugu of the speeches of Mr. Kesava Pillai, Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao and Mr. Nanjunda Rao. In its telegram columns, the same paper publishes in English a letter addressed to the Tribune by its correspondent, in which the correspondent suggests that the most effective form of protest against which the correspondent suggests that the most effective form of protest against which the correspondent suggest that the most effective form of protest against the internments is for the elected members of the Council to resign their seats.

The Andhra Patrika, of the 23rd June, gives a Telugu version of the aforesaid letter. The same paper reports Mr. Surendranath Banerji to have said as follows in a protest meeting held at Calcutta:- It may be said that the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant betokens the end of bureaucratic Government All over India we have to endeavour to see that such acts of injustice do not take place. We have all to work with a singleness of purpose until we get Swaraj.

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328. Tomorrow's meeting.

(Dated 20th June 1917, para 64, page 1800)

Referring to the meeting that was to be held for protesting against the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant, etc., the Andhra patrika, of the 20th June, observes under this heading:- .... The rulers must pay heed to the protest made by such leaders (As Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Mr. Ramachandra Rao etc.)......We request the Government cancel their orders in consideration of the strong opinions of responsible Indian leaders:-....It is said that even those who have had no settled ideas of home-rule in Bombay are now joining thehome Rule League by reason of the orders of the Government. Messrs. Jinnah and Jahangir Petit have already joined the league and

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and telegrams inform us that others will join. It would therefore be conducive to the happiness of Government as well as of the people that these facts should be considered and peaceful methods followed.

388. Tomorrow's Meeting 248

(dated 30th June, 1917, Para 65, Page 1860)

The Andhrapatrika, of the 20th June, Publishes Notes, of the Public meetings held at Tenali, Salem, Coimbatore, and Kuchipudi (Tenali Taluk) protesting against the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant etc. ---

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The Speech of Lord Pentland.

(Dated 20th Jume 1917, para 66, page 1860)

The Andhrapatrika, of the 20th June, publishes brief notes regarding public meetings held at Berhampur, Sivaganga and Negapatam passing resolutions against the speech of Lord Pentland and advocating the principle of Home rule.

A correspondent writes to the Andhra Prakasika, of the 22nd June, as follows:- We do not know whether Lord Curzon will now be glad to see that Lord Pentland has surpassed him in the matter of speech. We will hear that also soon. We would agree with Lord Pentland if he said that his words applied to some statesmen only; but I do not hesitate in saying that it is His Excellency's fault to speak so as to include all. If he had said that certain persons were of a certain characte and that it was regrettable that others should follow them, there would not have been cause for so much commotion. It is regrettable that His Excellency had not the courage to do so. My conscience tells me that I also am one of those who have been crying in vain for the last 30 years for a change in the system of Government. I am glad to state that this idea

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that this idea of mine gathered strength in 1903-04. It was then that I wrote a booklet entitled: "Indian famine and Native Revenue Officials" and circulated it widely. .... Mr. Dadabai Nowroji, Mr. Balagangadar Tilak and the Late Mr. Ashe and the India observes that I spoke the truth with great boldness and courage. ... I wrote to a sympathetic civilian that if the keys of the Indin Exchequer were given to me I would appoint for all posts from masalchi upwards to the post of the Governor-General, all Englishmen only for a long time to come, and that if the key is not entrusted to us but is allowed to be in your hands, and that in the hands ofthe civilians, evil will come of it. It is 8 or 9 years since this happened. Mrs. Besant need not therefore teach us politics. Then she was under a different banner. That has changed for her and not for us. She may change it again tomorrow but we will not. She has many reasons for doing so but we have none. .... They are not right men who get frightened at the threats of Lord Pentland or any other or of yourselves. Mr. Gandhi is our great precepter. Mrs. Besant may not be so to many of us. There are many reasons for it.

The paper criticising the above letter observes:- Who said that the remarks of Lord Pentland applies to all politicians. The speech of Lord Pentland itself says that it applies to mischievous agitators....Will any one say that it is wrong that the Governor should condemn mischievous agitation in general. It cannot be wrong. What knowledge of politics we have enable us to assert that it is not wrong for the Government who are responsible for maintaining the peace of the country to give that much of the warning.

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328. **Letter of Hon'ble Mr. V.S.Srinivasa Sastri.**

(Dated 20th June 1917, para 67, page 1861).

The Andhrapatrika, of the 20th June, gives a Telugu version of the letter of Hon'ble Mr. V.S.Srinivasa Sastri regarding the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant.

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328. **What is the reply to Mrs. Besnat's internments?**

(Dated 23rd June 1917, para 68, page 1861).

Under this heading, the Kistnapatrika, of the 23rd June, has the following:-

(1) Join the Home Rule Leagues.

(2) Sacrifice everything for the service of the country

(3) Encourage national Schools.

(4) Use only Swadeshi articles.

(5) Use soul force in all acts.

(6) Strengthen the national spirit in every way.

(7) Remove all differences in society.

(8) Raise the depressed classes.

(9) Let women also take the vow to do good to thecountr

(10) Honour the mother tongue.

(11) Follow the leaders with obedience.

(12) Chant the Swaraj Hymn.

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329. Sir Subrahmanya Iyer and the Home Rule League.

(Dated 22nd June 1917, para 79, page 1863).

The Sadhvi, of the 22nd June in its news columns, observes:- The editor of the Andhrapatrika states that Lord Pentland told Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar that unless he withdraws ~~fm~~ from the Home Rule League, he will be subjected to great hardship, and that Sir Subrahmanya Ayyar replied that he was prepared to suffer any punishment His Excellency might mete out to him. When we see that an aged person like him, unequelled as a scholar and one who held the office of Chief Justice, spoke in this manner in the interests of the country we cannot help feeling surprised at the strange manner in ~~whi-~~ which we should welcome the good fortune of obtaining self-government.

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330. Constitutional methods.

(Dated 28th June 1917, para 81, page 1863).

In a lengthy leading article under this heading the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 28th June, writes:- Lord Pentland in imposing the vow of silence of Mrs. Besant and others had not thought that popular discontent would reach such a critical height. The authorities think one way and the almighty quite another. If the Government has imposed the vow of silence on Mrs. Besant and others, God has imposed on Indians the vow to demand home-rule with one voice. All thoughtful experienced and far-seeing persons from the Hima-layas to Cape Comorin are becoming Mrs. Besant's disciples. Mrs. Besant is becoming a high priest in politics. Her welfare is becoming identical with the welfare of the Indians.

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331. A memory of the past.

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(Dated the 20th June 1917, para 88, page 1866).

The Qaumi report, of the 20th June, writes:- New India is the first paper in Madras to be stopped owing to the internment of its editor. It is said that the literary atmosphere of Madras has become vitiated and that the bacteria of insecurity unrest, and impatience are playing havoc with mental and spiritual health heath. It is also suspected that the late New India was the source of this trouble. It may or may not be so, we neither defent New India nor hold a brief for the authorities. We give to both the benefit of freedom of thought, but all the same we cannot forget New India.

It was our friend and contemporary and both of us were born in the same year and the self-same month, and more or less under the shadow of the same sky, at a time when the atmosphere of the city was very delightful and there was neither trace of bacteria in all the broad expanse of the heavens nor vestige of difficulties on the face of the earth. We may say that the dream of the future was full of promise and blissful anticipations. We started in the same way but were then strangers to each other. Our language, status,aim and work were all distinct. Our real positions are described by the line:

"I face the Kaba thoug the monastery."

It was rich and we were poor. It was famous and we were obscure. It was European and we were Indian. People said "It was woman and we a man." But we thought it was a man among women, while we were a woman among men.

We were alone in Madras where there were three elder brothers in the North, viz., the Paisa Akhbar, the Zamindar and the Hamdard. But a volent death separated two of them from us, only the Paisa Akhbar remains alive. We pray ~~that~~ it

that it may live on in the future. If however, God buried two of them alive, He has brought into existence eight brothers in that very same province. As Nasir says:-

"If one good thing leaves this ocean, a better appears.
"Like the rain drop, lost in the oyster shell, reappers
as a gem."

NO! the smiling is wrong. Some brothers died and have been born again in the realm of Fate the quickening leaven is at work on others who have passed away. Galib's lines express the actual condition:-

"Where are they all? Manifested in tulips and roses.
"The forms have gone down to the dust in that they have
vanished."

We have wept ourselves weary. We have mourned till we can mourn no more.

How can we mourn for a friend who is a stranger and a countryman about to start on a journey? Why people behold our face? Where are the tears left in our eyes? Alas!

New India has been stopped. Good! Good or bad, a fellow traveller or a highwayman true or false, it was its affair. Who are we to judge of its creed or deed?

As long as it was aline we had the right to express an opinion concerning it, but now it is dead. Holy Islam directs:

"Seek well of your dead."

When it was in the land of the living, we attacked it and exposed ourselves to its onslaughts. We too had a dream of the freedom of the country but we both differed in the interpretation of the d ream.

At any rate, we are not pleased at its death for:

"What boots it to gloat at the death of the foe.
"When our lip too is mortal we know."

We regret, however, that the first case of constitutional cholera has occurred in the press quarter. God Forbid that the infection should spread! We on our part will trast in God who will do as He seeth best.

Oh thou art buried alive! Sleep on, many have sleept before thee. Compared with them thou art fortunate! Fellow countrymen why mournest thou for one young life? How many funerals our poor community has had! How frequently have we read the lines:

"This shroudless corpse, the form of weary Asad, Ah me!
"God grant him grace for a wonderous generous man was he!"

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331. **The result of unlawful sedition.**

(Dated 20th June 1917, para 89, page 1867).

The Mukhbir-i-Dakhan, of the 20th June, writes:- An ill-timed agitation has been going on In Madras for a long time and Mrs. Annie Besant and her supporters have been most persistent in levelling reproaches at the Government. We have repeatedly written about the difficulties and disagreeable things connected with home-rule and have given it as our opinion that India should first of all advance educationally and industrially. Unless we first fit and qualify ourselves for the boon, it is midsummer madness to aspire to Swaraj or self-government. Mrs. Annie Besant, however, made home-rule the aim of her life and a few of her wellwishers made common cause with her. The Editor, in inviting the attention of his indulgent readers to His Excellency Lord Pentland's speech at the Legislative Council on the subject of home-rule, observes 'We regret to find that the apprehension, which we entertained from the very beginning, apprehension, which we entertained from the very beginning, proved to be well founded by the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. Arundale, and Mr. Wadia on Saterday last.

Had these people worked for education and civilisation, the Hindus would have been greatly benefited. There are hundreds of Hindu manners and customs calling for reform and this field would have afforded more than ample scope for activities of Mrs. Annie Besant and the rest. Their dispositions, however underwent a change and the mystic is suddently metamorphosed into the politician.

In our opinion politics do not constitute a sin or a crime. They could have made use of this in moderation and fairness but they wanted to establish English liberty an d English Freedom in India where they would do more harm than good because of differences in religion, nationality, needs, and dispositions.

They ~~k~~ knew that the Empire is engaged in an awful life and death struggle and that events are constantly producing new dangers and that all are desirous of securing a victory with honour, cost what it may. The advocates of home-rule, ever, considered this a fitting opportunity to bluntly and roughly put forward their demands.

We cannot refrain from expressing our heartfelt refgret ~~in~~ that the city of Madras, which had hitherto been free from such incidents, should be unjustly disgraced. We do not think Mrs. Annie Besant deserves any thanks for her services On the contrary India complains that through her misguided enthusiasm and unlawful agitation obstacles have been thrown in the way of India's progress.

India can only suceed in realising its aims and obje by gradual endeavour. Improper attempts, like these, can but do her harm.

We hope the remaining supporters of home-rule will take a warning from this and endeavour to do the country some real good. This is not the way to bring success, prosperity and progress to the country.

"O Arabi ! I fear the Kaba thou canst not reachø,
'Since the way, thou farest, to Turkistan doøt lead.'

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331. **Public Security**

(Dated 23rd June 1917, para 90, page 1867).

The Jaridah-i-Rozgar, of the 23rd June, writes:- We have fully discussed in several previous issues the marginally noted subject and asserted that, on the whole, the Muhammadan subjeøcts of our country are loyal, peace-loving andfree from sedition, and that, as a matter of fact, our community and country have always been immune from such blemishes.

Some short-sighted people are vainly clamouring for home-rule, or self Government and the columns of newspapers have been corwded with interpretations of their confused dream. But the Government in passing the Press Act, prescribed a limit to the area of discussion on political and other matters in newspapers beyond which they may not go.

It is true that the Government passes such laws as it considers beneficial to its people. If this Act had not been passed, some mischief-makers and villians who always boast of the freedom of their papers and whose chief aim is to create anxiety and perplexity in the minds of peace-loving people by their delusive/disorder. But our benign Government has not hitherto dealt severely with them. On the contrary it has given many opportunities to mend their ways. Regarded with an impartial eye these are a species of germs that should be ejected føom India so that their emphitic vapour may not spread in this country.

articles, would have stirred the minds of ~~peace-loving~~ people in sowing the seeds of sedition, unrest and

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Mrs. Besant Mr. Arundale and Mr. Wadia are people who have repeatedly been cautioned, warned and admonished. They declined to desist, however, until the order for their internment was issued. The day before yesterday the triumvirate left for Ootacumund.

The Editor considers that the internment of Mrs. Besant and her associates will by every individual of what - ever country, community, or class, be regarded with satisfaction. As Islam happens to be the friend of peace we Mussalmans shall ever maintain peace and ensue it at all costs under our King's rules and demonstrate to the world that the Muhammadan community is the one community that loves tranquility.

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331. **The voice of Argument.**

(Dated 23rd June 1917, para 91, page 1868).

The Qaumi Report of the 23rd June writes:- Yesterday evening at a mass meeting, held under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. Sarma (of the Viceroy's Council) at the Gokhale Hall, the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant and others was discussed and it was resolved that it should be requested that the order should be rescinded. Brahmans and Non-Brahman Hindus took an active part in the proceedings. Many had to go away for want of room.

INSTRUCTION AND NOT PROHIBITION:- The Government had through the Collector intimated that it would be better if the meeting was not held, but if held violent language should be avoided. It is hoped that this request of the Government was not granted. It was well that the meeting was not forcibly stopped. Many persons entertained serious apprehensions. We are of opinion that such meetings are not fraught with danger.

~~Presence of Mussal~~

PRESENCE OF MUSSALMANS:- Some Mussalmans were also present at the meeting but no one spoke. Yesterday morning our contemporary, the Madras Times, claimed that not a single Mussalman attended. This information was due to defective vision Our contemporary, the Hindu in contradicting it, says? "Khan Bahadur Muhammad Safdar Hussain Sahib, Mehkari, Mr. Abbas Hussa Hussain Sahib, Proprietor of the firm "Abbas & Co.," andMr. Abdul Razzak, Chairman, Saidapet Union, and others had to go away for want of accommodation.

It is undoubtedly a fact that Mussalmans were present, but this does not mean they are the disciples of Mrs. Annie Besant. They sympathise with her and their attitude is expressed by the lines.

"Amir! Let the dagger slay whom it will,
"We feel for the whole world."

We can give the assurance that the gentlemen, who attended, are Mussalmans first, and Indians afterwards, and that their presence was prompted by sympathy.

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331. An attempt at revolution.

The Qaumi Report, of the 23rd June, writes: Yesterday was the day appointed for Mrs. Annie Besant's departure, and she has left. The Blue Mountain Express will now enjoy her silence and loneliness. It is probable that her two associates will accompany her. Her Madras friends could not get her off, but they have manifested a readiness to suffer affliction in her stead! Mr. Telang, from Bombay, has resuscitated New India and put his life in pledge for it.

The day before yesterday New India reappeared and thus gave to Mrs. Annie Besant, prior to her departure the assurance that the plan, she has outlined, will not be quickly frustrated.

Mrs. Besant's Madras followers had already made the necessary preparations for the laying out, and buriaAl of New India, but Mr. Telang endeavoured to resuscitate it anda a Mussalman Official (Khan Bahadur Muhammad Buz-lullah Sahib Bahadur), has issued orders for it to be brought to life again!

New India is now with us, and it is hoped that it will be more patient, and more grateful, and appreciate the secret of those who maintain silence. Otherwise like it, and indeed more than, it we could raise a clamour. Those who have already gone before, whisper in our ears--

"Look at me, if your eyes can learn a lesson."

"Listen to me, if your ears can take in advice."

We do not know whether or no any advantage can be derived from the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant. Whether enforced silence and taciturnity will affect her mind and heart. There is no hope apparently her condition may be described thus--

"The counsellor has imprisoned us. God. Suffer it be so!

"Will love's madness suddenly go?"

Of her associates, who hold similar ideas, Mr. Arundale says only this much--

"We were born slaves in the abode of love,

"Why should we flee from thy fetters?"

and Mr. Wadia cries--

"We are fidelity's thrall, why should we fear the prison?

From this internment, however, one advantage will surely follow and that is, these people will come out to support the agitation in future with renewed mental vigour and strength of feeling after the manner of the interned

Russians who have returned from Siberia, to support the revolution in Russia. Their minds and hearts wanted rest and consolation, and these have been forced upon them. Why they come forth, again, they will bring with them renewed minds and hearts.

The Government sometimes does things which occasion inconvenience to itself. As for instance, in the mattersof internment, it has not, as a rule, been established what advantage has been gained by the absence of such and such a person. Is not the work they wanted to do personally being done vicariously? We do not know what the remedy is. If the law so desires, it can govern tongues, but we do not know how it can put pressure on minds and hearts. Cannot a logician or a lawyer show how the freedom of the mind and heart is taken away by the Freedom of tongue?

Those who wish to put a stop to verbal agitation should disseminate practical proofs of the country, and annihilate critics by squaring practice with theory. When enlightenment spreads and darkness automatically disappears, light has no right to hurl malidictions at darkness.

So far as we can understand the atmosphere of the country we find that a portion of our brother community is displeased with the authorities, and this displeasure is ma matter of principle rather than theory. Nature has not created in their blood an enthusiasm likely to make them refractory or headstrong. If he Government is under the impression that a few educated Brahmans will do it actual harm, they are making a mistake.

If however, we leave those, who are interned, to themselves, God will do with them what he will. If their intentions are really sincere, liberty will come to them of its own accord. Sins of the hearts are forgiven if hearts repent. Similarly the rebellion of the heart is suppressedly by the power of the heart itself. We should seek its sign

from God, and act according to His will. He has appointed a time for everything and things done inopportunely will wiped out.

THE ROLL OF THE PRESS IN THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT IN MADRAS.

332. The Home Rule Movement.

(Dated 28th June 1917, para 3, page 1876).

In a leader on "The new Movement," the West Coast Spectator, of the 28th June, says:- "Of late, to be more correct since the demise of Gokhale and Perozesha Mehta we have noticed with considerable pain a sort of anarchy prevailing in the Indian political camp; people who were nobodies yesterday have suddenly become full-fledged leaders and ideals which Mehta and Gokhale were cautious enough to keep at a distance have been forcibly brought to the front and people encouraged to hug them to the bosom. It will be noticed that the Home Rule Movement never made any impression on the people was not allowed to come out and disturb public tranquility so long as the two great statesmen were alive. After their demise, attempts were made to capture the Grand Old Man and to boom the movement with the magic of his name, but the hero of a hundred campaigns saw through the transparent motive and politely declined to give it the weight of his authority and name. ... Now when we see political sanity and prescience reaching the vanishing point and false prophets apparently honest, stumping the country propounding strange creeds and methods of political warfare, there are times when we sigh for a Mehta or Gokhale. ..... We say with a full sense of time when we sigh for a Mehta or Gokhale. ... We say with a full sense of responsibility, at the risk of being voted down as renegades and traitors by the roaring patriots who can tolerate no differences of opinion, and think that those who are not with them are against them, against the true interests of the country.....As we have repeatedly been pointing out in these columns, an attitude of hostility towards the Government, even though it takes care to avoid collision with the penal laws of the country, cannot pay in the long run....We have absolutely no desire to question

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the patriotism or motive of those who boom home-rule and are anxious that India should take her place in the great Anglo-Saxon Federation; but practical politics teaches us that mere wish and protestations however sincere, will not take the country to the goal of her aspirations. We are told by another class of politicians that the movement moment Home Rule is granted, the humbler and lower classes of the people will improve as if by ~~mig~~ magic, becoming articulate and fit to discharge their duties as individual untis of the common-wealth. ... Fanatics, impatient idealists and revolutionaries may be left out of account altogether, but we are pained to see some of our moderate politicians hugging shibboleths to the bosom and shouting in extremists' company... We would regard the Besant internment as a blessing in di[...] if the new energies it has awakened will lead to self-[...]tion to self-surrender and to an adequate preparatio[...] self-government. Mere abuse of the Government or of [...] bureaucracy obsessed wit the madness of efficiency wi[...] not lead to the fulfilment of our aspirations. We must ma[...] our claim irresistible; ~~lead to the ful~~ and when we are a strong untied nation, proof against traitor witin and foe without, fally prepared to meet the responsibilities of empire, to make any sacrifice if necessary, self-government will come to us of its own accord. No bureaucracy however, powerful, will then be able to resist it. Nations by themselves are made, not by talk but by action that is based on righteousness and on a spirit of devotion."

333. **The Zamindars and Home-Rule.**

(Dated 3rd July 1917, para 14, page 1882).

Justice, of the 3rd July, writes:- "It is becoming increasingly manifest that the Zamindars and landholders of this Presidency are as a body definitely opposed to the concession of Home Rule to India at this moment and that the Hon'ble Mr. K.V.Rangaswami Ayyangar and the Hon'ble the Zamindar of Polavaram who represent them in the Imperial and Local Legislative Councils, respectively, have no authority to use the name of their constituents in the Home Rule controversy as among their active supporters. Mr. Rangaswami Ayyangar on a letter to a contemporary tries to explain away the awkward position which he has created for himself. ..... He seems to have very peculiar notions about the aristocracy of this presidency. He means ay aristroc aristocracy all those all those who are gifted with worldly goods, whether they are merchants or lawyers or politicians and he includes Mrs. Besant among the aristrocracy, though the appeal for appeal for funds on her behalf does not support this assumption However, he was returned to the Imperial Legislative Council not to represent Mrs. Besant, the fat lawyer, and the millionaire merchant or wealthy politician, but the landed interest of the Presidency. .... Mr. Rangaswami Ayyangar is prepared to be a martyr in the true besantine fashion so that inferior men like the Raja of Pithapuram, Raja of Venkatagiri and Raja Manavedan Raja, who possess not his foresight and his wisdom but whom he is anxious to uplift may get a few boons, we suppose from the Government."

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333. <u>The Madras internments</u>.

(Dated 3rd July 1917, para 15, page 1882) .

The Travancore Times, for the week ending 3rd Ju- observes:- "We have not the slightest doubt that the ac of the Madras Government, ordering the internment of Mrs. Annie Besant and her lieutenants, Mr. Arundale and Mr. Wadia has been taken with the bsøt best of motives, and there is no room whatever for suspecting that it has been aimed ag the political aspirations of the people...... The circumst that led Mrs. Besant ø to adopt her present career are sin Whether she adopted her present political career deliberate or was led into it gradually by the exiøgencies of her previous position we cannot tell. She was a first leader of theosophy. It was, perhaps, in that capacity that she procl med a few years ago that certain Krishnamurti, a boy about fifteen years, was in his last birth, Jesus Christ, or Lord Maitriya. Absurdities of ~~thtx~~ this nature are beneath notic But this startling announcement was made known to the publi in connection with a case which added little to the prestig of theosophy and less to Mrs. Besant. ... But before her influence waned considerably, she put forward her new Home Rule cult. ... Nor satisfied with constitutional agitation for iøt in season and out of season she blamed the Government attributed motives to the rulers and those in authority and by writing and speaking succedded in creating a great deal of discontent among a ~~l~~ class of people who believe that Home Rule will add to the exceptional benefits they are now the pre recipients of. Her utterances were misleading the impressionable students in large numbers. As has become usual of late, protest meetings are being held in various centres, the wording of the resolutions passed at some of

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of them being by no means mild. Such public protests, whatever purpose they may or may not serve, are sure to weaken in young and ignorant minds respect for established authority ... History has taught these dumb millions what Home Rule once meant to them and they would not for a moment join hands with the agitators to be subjected to a repetition of the same results."

The Hindu of the 5th July writes:- "The pronouncement made yesterday by Mr. Chamberlain in the House of commons on the subject of Mrs. Besant's internment will deepen the discontent already felt in this country at his attitude. ... The educated community of India, who have been deeply stirred over the matter and have risen as one man to protest against the injustice do not come into the consideration of the Secretary of State at all. Mr. Chamberlain confines himself to echoing the vague declamation that Mrs. Besant's agitation was not merely mischievous, but was carried on by improper methods... It seems to us that it is high time for the people of this country to bestir themselves to carry on the agitation to England and to inform the people of the United Kingdom and the Members of Parliament as to the reality of the State of things in this country."

Writing on this subject, New India of the 6th July remarks:- "A tendency full of the gravest menace to the political progress of the Indian people, is growing more and more marked in the attitude of the authorities in England towards Indian affairs. There is a callous indifference to the real needs and feelings of the people and an infinite faith in the motive and actions of the bureaucracy. This attitude is put down to the pre-occupations of the war; but circumstances have made it clear to us now that all protestations of that kind are unmitigated cant. ... It is only India that is to be repressed into silence in the name of the war. It is the Indian people alone who are to be charged with

disloyalty and anti-Imperial ~~Indian~~ intentions, if they raise their voices for anything except the interests of the war loan. It is Indian movements only that are to be branded as dangerous to public safety. Indians must not think of serving their country; they should absorb themselves in slaving for the Empire. The war, which is to liberate the world and complete the circle of freedom in the 'Empire of the free', is used as an excuse to check India's progress and to stifle even her hopes of liberty and democratic self-Government. Her future, both immediate and distant, is to be planned not according to the designs of her best and wisest, nor even according to the designs of British statesmen, instinct with the generous spirit of liberty and Democracy, but on the miserable pattern supplied by bureaucratswho in the arrogance of race pride and the selfishness of vested matters interests, have lost all sense of British Freedom and justice and have never cared to cultivate Indian sympathies or view points. ... In his replies to questions in the matter of Mr. Besant's internment and the position of the Home-rule Leagues, Mr. Chamberlain made it clear, as yesterday's telegrams show, that he was not going to concern himself at all with any considerations as to the rights or wrongs of any step that the officials here may choose to take in pursuance of their policy of repression. The officials decree it and the Officials must be right, for the officials cannot be wrong....The Government here has, therefore, a blank cheque their infallibility in this matter is fully accepted and the general blessing of the Secretary of State is given to their policy in anticipation. Mr. Chamberlain has claimed for the Government of India and its deputies, not the divine right of Stuart Kings but the autocracy of the sword of oriental depots, and in this process, he is willing to write himself down as a figure head, especially in grave cases."

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334. Mr. B. G. Horniman v. Dr. T.M. Nayar.
(Dated 4th July 1917, Para 18, page 1884).

Justice, of the 4th July has the following:-
"More Royalist than the King himself."

There are people to be found in almost every country who praise "every century but this and every country but his own.' We have in India at present some remarkable specimens of that kind of people. Mrs. Besant while she was free to inculcate her political opinions on the people of this country used to dialate on patriotism as a great virtue Patriotism as illustrated by the example of Mrs. Besant is love for somebody else's country. We have another instance of Mr Horniman, the editor of Bombay Chronicle. We are to that this Gentleman was on the staff of the statesma Calcutta before he went to Bombay to take up the edit of the Bombay Chronicle. We presume that this transfer the statesman to the Bombay Chronicle was effected without any change of political opinion in Mr. Horniman, for Mr. Horniman now seems to manifest a dread for change of political opinion in any one....Why only the other day in New India there was a desire expressed for Mrs. Besant to address the American House of Representatives on behalf of India very much like what Mr. Balfour did on behalf of the British Empire. So under the new dispensation of Home Rule for India the real exponents of Indian publ[illegible] opinion will be people like Mrs. Besant and Mr. Horniman, and this state of affairs is being worked up to by the people who loudly proclaim that they are swadeshis...The people of India, as a rule, are so gentle and so full of gratitude and also they are very amenableto flattery especially by a European. It is by flattery that Mrs.

Besant has secured so many Indians to follow her lead. Flattery will undoubtedly be used by other Englishmen and Englishwomen who are anxious to control and lead the Indian people. And if India should ever secure Home Rule, the real leaders of the country who would control the people as well as the Home Rule Government will be this class of hirelings and adventurers. ... Mr. Horniman sneers at the fact that Raja of Kurupam and Dr. Nayar have supported the action of the Lord Pentland. Would it have been an improvement if, instead of these two Indians of position in this Presidency, Lord Pentland had the support of Mrs. Besant the adventuress and Mr. Horniman the hireling?

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335. The Maharaja of Bobbili and Home Rule.

(Dated 6th July 1917, para 20, page 1886).

Writing on this subject, Justice of the 6th July observes:- The Brahman understudy of Mrs. Besant, who isnow conducting New India makes an attempt to sneer at the Maharaja of Bobbili and to read him a lecture on political education and and democratic institutions. Not many months ago we had another instance where a nobleman was threatened with attacks in New India if he presided over particular meeting which was distasteful to the Home Rulers. He is another instance where a nobleman is made the subject of an attack, because he had the courage openly to express his opinion against the socalled home rule home rule-movement.... The Home rule print starts by drawing attention to the previous performances of the Maharaja of Bobbili. That has come to be a habit with this newspaper. The Maharaja of Bobbili hasno

reason to be ashamed of any of his previous performances. On the contrary he has a good deal to be proud of....We refrain from subjecting to such a process that the "previous performances" of the xxxx High Priestess of Home Rule, because we do not want to produce an attack of severe nausea in the respectable and clean minded citizens of this Presidency ... Our complaint all along has been that people with prat practically no political education and experience are clamouring for Home rule straightway. This Poona Brahman journalist and his Madras Brahman vakil colleagues are among the people who have had the least political education. The only political education which they seem to have had is to listen to the harangues of self-constituted leaders like Mrs. Besant. That extraordinary lady, who said in 1911, "Let the Indian citizens first learn to stand and walk before he asks to rule and go govern/h preacher who thinks that a country like India whose citizens in 1911 could no t stand and walk but were ready in 1916 to run and jump, cannot be a reliable sts political teacher. We have to endorse the remark of one of our correspondents who said that the Home Rule agitation is carrie d on by sheer impudence, and it is the embryo politicians-- who have had practically no political training who cannot even understand the budget when a copy of it is put into their hands, who now claim the right of controlling the budget who ar e attacking the seniors like Bupendranath Basu and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar because they xxx not do not move fast enough for them......We are told that it is impertinent for the Maharaja of Bobbili "to tell the people far more in touch with public opinion and conversant with the affairs of the common folk than this aristrocta aristocratic zamindar can be that it was a foolish thing for anyone of them to speak against the internments." But who are the people more conversant with the affairs of the common folk than the Maharaja of Bobbili? .... The Home rule gang must certainly

Says in 1916 that Home Rule for India is a folly. In other words, a political

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be on their last legs if they are relying on the Maharaja of Bikanir as the last support of their cause. Is it that they cannot or will not understand the speeches of the Maharaja of Bikanir? Whatever it may be, we are glad to see that they appreciate the views of the Maharaja of Bikanir, and if they will turn over a new leadf and follow the lead of such eminent ruling., Princes as the Maharaja of Bikanir, the Maharaja of Mysore and the Maharaja of Gaekwar whom they quote with approval there may be some changce yet of their turning out useful citizens. But if they continue to worship at the shrine of the advertising adventuress they are more likely to find themselves inside a lunatic asylum than in the Council Chamber weilding supreme authority and pulling the Governor by the nose."

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336. The British Resident in Mysore and Home Rule.

(Dated 30th June 1917, para 21, page 1887)

In commenting on a correspondent's allegations xg regarding the Honourable the Resident's remarks on seeing New India and the Bombay Chronicle during a visit to the Mysore Government public Library, Bangalore, the Karnataka, of the 30th June, has the following:-

Z "Our British Resident and Home Rule"

"It is our obvigous duty to express our strong disapproval of the action alleged to have been taken by the Hon'ble Mr. Cobbø obstensibly in his solicitude for the mental well-being of our youth. The Public Lόbrary is not an institution maintained by irresponsible agitatørs or mischievous seditionsists and its committee of management includes several gentlemen of high official status, one member at least being an Englishman and a Christian Missionary. When these do not see anything harmføul in New India, it is strange that the high British Resident should deem it his duty to taboo that

that famous journal. ... Altogether, the crusade said to have been begun by the Hon'ble Mr. H.V.Cobb is not only bound to be futile, but it will also have the unfortunate consequence of shaking the faith of the people in the sympathy and good sense of the instruments of the British Government in this country.....We fervently hope that Hon'ble Mr. Cobb is mindful of the importance of not creating needless irritation in the popular mind and of maintaining unimpaired the high and noble traditions of Liberal statesmanship bequeathed to him by Sir Hugh Daly."

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337. **The internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia.**

(Dated 25th June 1917, para 40, page 1892).

Referring to the statement said to have been made by Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in reply to a question to this subject by Sir A. Williamson in the House of Commons, that the action of the Madras Government was quite necessary and that the other Provincial Governments had satisfied themselves that the activities of Mrs. Besant and her colleagues had excited unrest which might easily become dangerous at present, the Hindu Nesan of the 25th June writes:- This reply of the Secretary of State for India when excited publicmeetings are held in different places and telegrams are flying communicating resolutions passed therein that the internment order should be cancelled, cannot but cause great surprise to the India.s It shows that the Secretary of State for India support the manner in which the Local Government have exercised their discretion in this matter. Now the question arises as to how the resolution passed in the public meeting held in Madras praying for a cancellation of these orders can have any effect

and it is a point about which the Indians leaders should consider carefully. Our people should take the trouble of making the British public know these resolutions passed by Indian leaders, after deep consideration without being impatient in the least. The reply of the Secretary of State makes us presume that he would not have bestowed much thought on the State makes us presume that he would not have bestowed much thought on "sufficient reasons to believe that Mrs. Besant has acted or is likely to act in a manner prejudicial to public safety", referred to in the notice served on Mrs. Besant. He may have much faith in the words of the local Officials. Still if he had waited for some time to know the popular opinion on the subject and then gives his reply, it would have been much better, . Though the reply of the Secretary of State as wired to us by Reuter will disappoint those crying incessantly for Home Rule for India, it will surely inf infuse a greater enthusiasm in the people working for the ideal of Home Rule.

The Swadesamitran, of the 27th June, publishes reports from its correspondents of protest meetings held about these interments at Tanjore, Madura, Kaniyur, Sangagiri and Abinavam In the last three places those present at the meeting resolved to buy only Swadesi goods. There was also a ladies' meeting at Sankaridrug, at which, in addtion to a resolution of protest against the internments, a Swadesi vow was also taken by all those present.

The same paper reporduces in Tamil the following comments of theTimes of Ceylon on this subject: In our opinion, the policy of repression begun against Mrs. Besant, cannot be taken to include the statesmanship of Lord Pentland. We entirely agree that the methods adopted by Mrs. Besant, in political matters cannot at all be approved. Nevertheless, considering the excitement caused by the internment order, it can easily be seen that Mrs. Besant is now a greater me-

menace to public safety than before. The Government of Madras have given her now a greater influence and glory than she had till now. It will be hard indeed to point out a more shortsighted act than this in the history of Indian politics.

The Hindu Nesan of the 27th June, publishes from the pen of a correspondent, the proceedings of a public meeting held in Trichinopoly to protest against these internments, at which a resolution was also passed that, in token of these internments, the people should use only Swadesi goods, except when they cannot do without foreign goods.

In publishing the proceedings of a meeting of the Bengal Muslim League, in which it was resolved that the membersof the League should all become members of the Home Rule League and that the lelected members of the Legislative Councils should resign their seats as an indication of the condemnation of these internment orders, the same paper remarks that, while it has no objection to the members of the Muslim League being induced to join the Home Rule League, it cannot approve the proposal that the elected members of the Legislative Councils should resign their seats.

Under the heading "short notes" the Dravidan of the 27th June, repeats its opinion that the action taken by Lord Pentland in this matter was quite a justifiable one in the interest of the public peace and the prestige of the Government and scoffing at the statement made by Mrs. Besant and at athe Chittoor District Conference, that she, being a white woman, could do whatever she pleased and that her white skin would prevent the Government from doing any harm toheer her observes that it is the duty of all lead[illegible] to try to maintain a healthy relationship between the rulers and the rul aruled in this country.

Referring to the Swadeshi vow taken at the several meetings held to protest against these internments, Dravida Patrika of the 27th June, says:- This vow was taken in Bengal when

when it was divided in the time of Lord Curzon and it led to the starting of many new industries and the development of many old ones. When Bengal was reunited, the people became satisfied. Now they have worke up once again. the The people should keep up to this vow. This will help the improvament of industries in our country to a large extent. It is the best means to makes those in England attend to our grievances and redress them. To support swadeshi good and avoid foreign ones cannot be deemed to be be antagonistic to the Government. They are bound to help this movementin athe interests of the country.

The Dravida Patrika, of the 27th June publishes a letter from a correspondent, who referring to the intensity of the public feeling which has been roused by this action of the Madras Government and the condemnation of this action by the Indians and Europeans alike, expresses his convictionthat the very step intende d by the Madras Government to suppress the Home Rule movement will give an impetus to its development and will lead to the correction of the mistakes of the bureaucrats in India and the conferment of numerous benefits on her, and concludes:- The Government should note the public opinion in this matter. They will do well to consider this opinion that it will prove very beneficial; for it will doubly help the develppment of new spirit in this country.

The Swadesamitran of the 28th June, publishes the proceedings of meetings held in Periyakulam, Chingleput and Negapatam, to protest against these orders of the Government of Madras.

The same paper reproduces in Tamil the substannce of the cable sent by the Hon'ble Sir Edulji Wacha as President of Bombay Presidency Asscoiation protesting against these orders, which appears in the Hindu of the same date and observes:- Mr. Wacha does not belong to the party of Mrs.

Besant and cannot even be said to approve entirely of her methods. Even in the message, no mention is made of the in inconvenience personally caused to her by these orders and her opinions and methods. The gist of the message is only that it is not proper to have recourse to repressive measures now and that the aims of the Government in the matter of self-government should be published immediately and the aspirations of the people fulfilled soon. We hope that the truth of these statements will be realised and that the Government will come forward without delay to adopt the proper remedies.

Referring to the message called to Messrs. Lloyd George Chamberlain and Asquith by the President of the Bombay Presidency Asscoiation about these internments the Hindu Nesan of the 28th June, remarks that if these three gentlemen avail themselves of the opportunity now offered to them, consider deeply the present situation and take such action as is necessary in a liberal spirit, it will betoken their superiod wisdom.

The Swadesamitran of the 29 th June publishes from the pen of a correspondent, the proceedings of a public meeting held at Mudikondan, to protest agains tht these orders.

Lokopakari of the 2nd July, takes exception to the view express by some short-sighted Indians that, as a set-off against the Provincial these internments, the elected members in the Provincial Legislative Councils in India should resign their seats and that Indians should not enlist in the Indian Defence Force, and adds:- According to the saying that,

out of evil cometh good, this war tends to confer numeroas benefits on the Indians. We should not let loose this opportunity. If we refuse to enlist in the volunteer crops for the protection of our country, as called upon by the Government we will not be fit for having Home Rule tood. We can rule our country only after saving it from others. Though there are distinctions between Englishmen and Indians from the regulations applying to these enlisting in this corps, we should ignore them for the present and demonstrate our loyalty and capability by enlisting in the corps. If wedo our duty, our aspirations cannot but be fulfilled. Hasty and impulsing acts will be of no avail. What connection is there between Mrs. Besant and the defence of India? It will be unwise on our part to think of not taking advantage of the new previlege granted to us by the Government of enlisting in the Defence Force.

The Swadesa Mitran, of the 3rd July, reporduces in Tamil the communication appearing in the Hindu of the 2nd instance from Miss Arundale describing the way in which Mrs. Besant and her two colleagues are taking their stay at Ootacumund, quite cheerfully.

The same paper publihses in detail the proceedings of the public meeting held on the 2nd July in the Gokhale Hall to collect subscriptions for the Besant Relief Fund.

The Swadesamitran, of the 4th July, publishes from the pen of a correspondent, the proceedings of the public meeting held in Kumbakonam under the presidency of Honible Mr. V.K.Ramanuja Achariyar, to pretest against the order of internment against Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, at which a Swadeshi vow also was taken.

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337. The Home Rule movement and the methods of the Government.

(Dated 27th June 1917, para 41, page 1894).

The Swadesamitran of the 27th June recipitulates the different acts of repression of the Provincial Governments in India against the popular leaders which indicate, in the opinion of this paper, nothing but the fact that the authorities are not in favour of the Home Rule Movement and repeats that, whatever may be the view of the authorities, it is not compatible with statesmanship to subject the patriots now engaged throughout the country in the agitation for Hoem Rule to repressive measures and that such action will not be conducive to the benefits of the country.

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338. Repressive measures and reforms.

(Dated the 29th June 1917, para 55, page 1898).

The Swadesamitran of the 29th June writes:- We regret that the replies given by the Secretary of State to the questions asked in Parliament for the last few days will change the good opinion the people had of him. Many havecome to regard all the statements made by him during the sittings of the Imperial Conference and the discussion about the duty on cotton goods in India as no more than empty ones. The approval by this official of the action taken against Mrs. Besant who even in internment is praying for Home Rule for Indians may lead the Indians to presume amny many thing As was anticipated by us last week, the Government of Madras did not obtain the previous sanction of the Secretary of State for interning Mrs. Besant. But what of that? When Mr. Chamberlain is ready to approve of every word and deed of the Madras Government, why should the latter obtain the previous sanction of the former for anything? But one

noteworthy point is that, while the Secretary of State sa
in his reply last week, that Mrs. Besant's activities woul
easily become dangerous, he had made a definite statement
in his reply this week that her activities were really d
rous. It is no doubt difficult to give replies to a cro
examination in Parliament. But we are sure that the diff
of the Secretary of State in this matter will not stop h
So we hope that he will give patient and consistent rep
to the questions that may be asked hereafter. But howe
capable and well informed he may show himself to be and
ever much he may support repressive measures, he will h
note one or two undeniable facts. The Government of Indi
openly stated that they have no objection to constitution
agitation on the part of the people for Home Rule. It wa
only a few months back that Lord Pentland referred appre
tingly to the fact that there was no prospect whatever o
disturbance of the public peace either tby the student
the people in India and especially in the Madras Presi
Everyone knows that within these months, Mrs. Besant has
done nothing new which may disturb public peace and has no
engaged in any dangerous political agitation. Our Govern
has also admitted that neither Mrs. Besant nor the others
engaged in the Home Rule movement have been found wanting
either in loyalty or in securing the welfare of the Empire.
When this is the tru sstate of affairs, what are we to say
of the statement of the Secretary of State, made with ofwit
out the eogonisance of the Government of Madras that that
lady is engaged in a dangerous agitation? This inconsiderat
reply shows that even he has yielded to the words of our
enemies, who have been oppositing the reforms demanded by
us for a centruy and more and voiced forth unanimously by

the Congress last year. It is a patent fact that Mrs. Besant and the Home Rule leagues are propagating only the reforms demanded by the Congress and the Muslim League. Perhaps, this is not clear to the Secretary of State alone. If the agitation conducted by Mrs. Besant becomes dangerous that carried on by the Congress and the Muslim league together is also dangerous one. It is a very easy thing to have recourse to repressive measures, and even if it leads to results unexpected by those responsible for it, they may be prepared for such a contingency But it has been for long a difficult task for the bureaucrats to fulfil the Home Rule aspirations which now fill the hearts of the Indians and for which they are agitating, and to introduce the necessary reforms so as to merit their gratitude. It is one of the features of the ~~uniform~~ unfortunate condition of our country that these reforms primarily curtail the influence, responsibilities and privileges of the bureaucrats and that responsible statesmen expect either the considat or the absence of hostility of these bureaucrats to these reforms. Though it may bedesirable for His Majesty to publish his intention of introducing the reforms necessary for our having in due course the self-government to which we are entitled, the Indians can appreciate the advantages of these reforms only after they undestand clearly what they are; for they know that, in the history of the Indian administration, many proclamations have been construed in different ways. So, it will give some satisfaction, if those now advising the Government base their ~~rec~~ recommendations at least one on one or two suggestions made by men like Sir S.P. Sinha, who is the most moderate of moderates. They should clearly understand that they cannot easily satisfy the Indians hereafter by merely giving them empty appointments or positions. Instead of their representatives being pri permitted, as is the case now, only to give advice

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in the matter of executive administration, they must hereafter be given (definite) powers in that administration. Statesmen, inclusive of the Secretary of State, and officials cannot ignore these two suggestions of Sir S.P. Sinha. If reforms are introduced it should be on the lines suggested by him. If on the other hand, reliance is placed on repressive measures and minor reforms contemplated as a set-off therefore the people will regard it only as a short-sighted act of statesmanship and reject it.

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339. The Home Rule movement and Zamindars.

(Dated the 2nd July 1917, para 57, page 1900)

The Dravidan of the 2nd July, welcomes the ma manifesto issued by some zamindars denying the approval., by the zamindars as a class, of the Home Rule agitation now conducted and states that Messrs. K.V.Rangaswami Ayyangar and K.R.V.Krishna Rao, who have been identifying themselves with the Home Rule Movement, cannot be taken to voice forth the views on this subject of the community they represent in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.

Adverting to the manifesto issued by certain zamindars dissociating themselves from the Home Rule movement as conducted at present, the swadesamitran, of the 4th July remarks:-

Though the Zamindars say that they have nothing to do whateve with the agitation carried on and the measure adopted by the Home Rule League with Mrs. Besant as its President they admit that they do not deny that India should have Home Rule and that proper efforts should be made for aher to have it in the course of time. It is to be noted that the zamindars with very few exceptions were all along

keeping aloof from the discussion and agitation carried on by the Congress and the Muslim League throughout the country for the advancement of the Indians. So, this opinion expressed unanimously by a number of zamindars that India should be granted Home Rule in course of time will doubtless give satisfaction to all. There may be a difference of opinion regarding the time at which and the manner in which this Home Rule is to be attained. Therefore, it is quite natural that the zamindars whose conduct has always been characterised by caution and solicitude should, while expressing their opinion in writing about a high political ideal which is likely to affect the position of the Government of India, have stated that this ideal can be attained only gradually in the course of time. Nevertheless, all of us cannot but appreciate the action of the community which has now for the first time entered into the political arena, having advocated the ideal of Home Rule. Now the zamindars also have expressed the opinion that the political reforms necessary fo r the gradual attainment by ~~to~~ the Indians of Home Rule should be introduced, is it not necessary for the Government ofIndia ato publish the reforms that they propose to introduce? When the grant of political reforms after the war was demanded by the Congress and the Muslim League till now, the bureaucrats were adducing the argument that no one else but the educated classes wished for such reforms and allowing time to pass by. There is no longer any room for such excuses. Why should the Government of India now raise any objection to publish that the grant of Home rule to the Indians is the aim of their administration and that they will, without delay, grant certain executive privileges in view of the accomplishment of this aim?

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340. **Anamolous order of the Punjab Government.**

(Dated 30th June 1917, para 60, page 1901).

Adverting to the order issued by the Punjab Government to the editors of newspapers in that province that they should not publish the proceedings of the meeting held in Lahore on the 28th June 1917 protesting against the order of the Madras Government in the case of Mrs. Besant and others, the Swadesamitran, of the 30th June says:- This order will create surprise and disgust to many. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Province says that, if the proceedings of this meeting are published, it will disturb the public peace. Protest meetings have been held on the subject in several places till now in India, Have they led anywhere to the disturbance of the Public peace? No. So, it is a wonder of wonders ~~tat~~ that such a disturbanee should have been anticipated in this province alone. This order has been passed under the ~~Dfenece~~ Defence of India Act. This Act, which came into existence on account of the war and which was till now applied to ~~suppres~~ suppress the Home Rule and other political agitations, has now come to be used even for preventing the publication of the proceedings of a public meeting. All this shows that this Act is applied even to matters which could not have been thought of by any one. It was perhaps expected that if Mrs. Besant were gagged by means of this Act, it would lead to the suppression of New India and also of the Home Rule movement But both these have become much stronger than before. Ifthere is any discussion in the papers which may disturb public peace there are the Press Act and other Acts ready for application. But the application of these Acts would throw on the Government the burden of proving the offence. This trouble is,

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however, saved by the application of the Defence of India Act. We regret to observe that it cannot indicate sound statesmanship to pass orders which are likely to rouse public meeting feeling and create unrest among the people at this juncture when it is necessary and expedient for the officials to seek the co-operation, support and love of the peoplein this great war.

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341. **Internments.**

(Dated 26th June 1917, para 64, page 1903)

The Andhrapatrika, of the 26th June, says:- Mr. Chamberlain has stated plainly that the Madras internments were a matter of necessity....We hope that as Mr. Chamberlain also will share the severity of future agitation, the severity of language used in speaking of Lord Pentland will show an abatement. Just as the number of those who say that the number of those who say that the order of the Governor is improper is increasing, so also the number of those who support him in his action is on the increase.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 26th June, publishes a report in Telugu and English of the proceedings of a meeting held at Lucknow to protest against the Madras internments and notes about similar meetings held at Madura, Tuticorin, Rajahmundry, etc.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 26th June gives a Telugu version of a letter written to the press by Mr Manmohandas

protesting against the Madras internments.

The same paper says that at the protest meeting held at Calicut, some people have taken the Swadeshi vow. It says that endeavours are being made to open at Calicut a Swadeshi mart on a very large scale.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 27th June, reproduces in Telugu the letter of Mr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya discussing the question whether the members of Legislative Councils should by way of protest against the Madras internments resign their seats, which appears in the Hindu, dated the 26th June 1917.

The Andhrapatrika of the 28th June, says in its leader: The Bombay Presidency Association has wired their disapproval of the action of the Madras Government in interning Mrs. Besan etc., to the Prime Minister, etc., in England. It is theBriti-sh that are fighting for the maintenance of the freedom of small states. It is they that have given shelter in their country to people under arbitrary rule who have sufferedin many ways of for freedom. They will surely not be silentwhen they come to know that in their territory individual free-dom is restrained. They will certainly not be indifferent in regard to Mrs. Besant, famous all overthe world. The news of the internment will not stop in England, but wil will soon spread to all neutral countries, and also to the Colonies. It may spread to the enemy countries and be made much of. This is an instance of what perverse results a pre-cipitate action may lead to. We are at a loss to know the propriety of this policy of the Government have reso during this war....The Presidency Association has stated that if the internment orders are not cancelled, the commotion among the people will grow beyond limits. It is its opinion that repressive measures can never suppress political aspirations and that it is a surprise at the present war crisis, the Government have resorted to such measures. The association

thinks that the administrative policy of the Government has degenerated to a large extent, and that it is not just on the part of the ministers to vindicate the mistakes of their subordinates. ... Repression on the one hand and sympathy on the other, at one and the same time, was the policy of Lord Morley, which failed to achieve its object in the case of the partition of Bengal. The unrest did not disappear until the partition was annulled. So also today, while individual freedom is in danger, people will not be satisfied with promises of petty reforms. The Presidency Association has made it plain that the people cannot be satisfied with anything short of the grant of reforms, suggested by the National Congress. It suggests that Mrs. Besant and others should be released and that the authorities should publish beforehand what reforms they intend to grant, so that the people may be enabled to express their opinions thereon. The public also desire such a thing unanimously. We hope that the Prime Minister and other statesmen will not be partial to the bureaucracy but will grant the wishes of the people. ...If taking the Swadeshi vow now, we do not keep it, the Swadeshi movement will fail as it failed once before, and we will be ridiculed in the world. We do not discourage the movement, but we wish that it may not like a bubble, have only a transcient existence.

The same paper publishes a Telugu version of the remarks of the Ceylon Times on the internment of Mrs. Besant in which appear the following observations:- The Madras Government have realised that the internment of Mrs. Besant has been productive of greater evil than her platform lectures and newspaper writings. ... The more indiscreet action occurred over under the British in India than the internment of Mrs. Besant.

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The paper also contains the proceedings of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee and the Mahajana Sabha, protesting against the internments.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 28th June, publishes in Telugu an abstract of the proceedings of the meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association, protesting against the Madras internments.

The Andhrapatrika, of the 28th June says:- The Bengal Muslims League have passed a resolution suggesting that the elected members of the Legislative Councils should express their indignation at the action of the Madras Government in interning Mrs. Besant by resigning their seats. Some are under the false impression that the Government want to root out the Home Rule movement altogether. There is no ground at all for entertaining any such idea. Again what connection is there between Home Rule and membership in the Legislative Council? It is very strange that certain gentleman has suggested that an ultimatum should be sent to the Government requirin requiring them to release the interned persons by the 16th July, and that if the Government do not do so, the honourable members in the Legislative Councils should resign their seats. Will the administration come to a stand still if they resign? We hope the members will not resign their seats as suggested.

The paper, in conclusion condemns the suggestion of some to cease to work in connection with the recruitmentof the Indian Defence Force, and says that he follow that suggesti suggestion would be ruinous to the best interests of the country.

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The Andhrapatrika, of the 29th June, refers in brief to the meetings held at Poona, Lahore, Cocanada, Bezwada, and Tenali protesting against the Madras Internments.

Referring to the answer of Mr. Chamberlain to an interpellation in the Parliament regarding the internment of Mrs. Besant, the Andhrapatrika, of the 29th June, says:- The words of Mr. Chamberlain show that he reposes great confidence in his subordinates. He has already been known as the 'know nothing'Mr. Chamberlain. It is surprising that Mr. Chamberlain is indifferent to a thing that is agitating the whole country. It is not known how the Madras Government have resorted to internments without consulting the higher authorities. It appears to be the policy of Mr. Chamberlain to be partial to the authorities. It is not known what steps he has taken to ascertain the opinion of the people regarding the internments. The hopes of the Indians now rest upon the British Ministers and the British people. Indian leaders should atonce go to England to make the British people understand the opinion of the Indian public. Great will be the loss to India if this is delayed. May the people soon wake up!

The Kistnapatrika, of the 30th June, observes that the opening speech of Mr. Sutcliffe, who presided over the meeting held at Sholapur to protest against the Madras internments, inspires even the timid with courage. It publishes an extract from the speech which contains:- "In the west, liberty is at conflict with despotism, and it is certainthat liberty will triumph. There is a similar conflict in India;

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can we prophesy similar results? We can say yes, when all the Indians undertake teir duty to their mother country with equal devotion when India speaks with one voice, and without a dissentient note, when she gives expression to her firm and irresistible determination for the attainment of liberty with one heart and with one aim....This repression of Mrs. Besant is really a heavy blow. Shall we look on with unconcern or shall we have recourse to retaliative measures? Shall we hide ourselves like a dog that has been whipped, or act like men and heroes...If we are to deserve the confidence of Mother India, may the enterprising souls jump into the place of every one that is interned! For every voice that is silenced, may the new voices shout for freedom, till every hill and dale may echo the call for freedom."

The Desamata, of the 27th June, publishes the proceedings of a meeting held at Rajahmundry to protest against the Madras internments, and reproduces from the Andhrapatrika portions of the letters of Mr. Pandit M. Malavya and Dr. Tez Bahadur Sapru, Rao Bahadur B.N. Sarma, already abstracted on page 1858 of the weekly report.

Referring to Mr. Chamberlain's reply to the question in Parliament regarding the internments, the Swadesabhimani of the 29th June, remarks:- Seeing the reply we must saythat we shall not be altogether wrong to suspect that the recent repressive measures were taken only with the sanction of the Home Government But as the officers here are the eyes, so as to speak of the Home authorities, it is doubtful whether these know the truth of the situation here. For the Madras Government has not shown so far that any of those now interned have done anything which can be punished under the Defence Of India Act. Nor have the other provinces who have forbidden

Mrs. Besant to enter their territory informed the public of the offences of which she is guilty; but they have only resorted to repression. When these officers themselves are the eyes through which those at home have to see, how could Mr. Chamberlain help saying what he did?

Referring to the internments, the Lokoprakasam, of the 25th June, has the following in English:- The revolution news of the sad internment of Mrs. Annie Besant and her lieutenants in Messrs. B.P.Wadia and G.S.Arundale who have bee been exerting themselves wholeheartedly for the attainment of ~~Hoem~~ Home Rule for India and the Indians, as obtaining in the colonies, by the order of His Excellency the Governor of Madras in Council, has, it is apparent created a deal of unfortunate sensation throughout the length and breadth of the land. That this action of the Government is capable of creating idssatisfaction among the masses of the population in India, it is idle to deny. In each case the Government order notifying the fact begins as follows:-

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What ever might be the nature of her doings theretofore, we refuse to believe that Mrs. Besant's is guilty of such an offence as to drive the Government to the necessity of resorting to this Act, which is purely a war measure. Her unsparing efforts for recruitment into the Dfefence of Indian Force, from the very commencement is well known. As far as it is known to the ~~puto the~~ public they do not share the view that this old venerable and venerated lady Mrs. Besant or any of her two comrades has acted any way contrary to the Dfefence Act. We strongly believe that there will be enough of proof, if proof were needed, to show that this resourceful lady has done nothing so grave as to be interned

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in this manner, but has only exerted with the best of the British supremacy. In these circumstances there is nothing surprising at the unsatisfactory opinion of the public on the gubernatorial order, which has been openly expressed in many of the public meetings held throughout the country.

In the course of his concluding speech at the Council meeting held on the 24th ultimo His Excellency observed that the efforts of those who work for Home Rule might bring trouble on the administration and that measures would be contemplated for stopping same. As our readers are aware, the public and the press condemned the speech in unmeasured terms and meeting were held in almost every important town. Then followed an explanation, as it were, of the gubernatoria utterance. The efforts of the public not only of this presidency but of the whole Indian Empire, for the attainment of Home Rule, is well known. It is impossible for any to say that that enthusiastic work has disturbed the peace of India or the audable arrangements and help for the success in the present titanic war. Furthermore, peace is the dominating feature of this 'benighted presidency." We are of opinion that it will be the greatest blunder were His Excellency to think that by the internment of the triumvirate there will be alleviation in the efforts of the Home Rule leaders. The Government is, no doubt, armed with vast powers to arrest the liberty of the public, having in prominent view the present war. But whether those powers could be used against those who work for the good of India and for Indians and for Home Rule without any way interfering with the sympathetic and whole-hearted support for war, is open to serious question.

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We do admit that Mrs. Besant is exertinfg for the attainment of Home Rule. What is it that induced the Governmen Government to intern Mr. Arundale. As we are aware his efforts were directed chiefly towards the sphere of education. Even as Secretary of the Home-Rule League, we do not remain remember him as delivering any speech in that connection. The Government a little while ago prevented Mr. Wadia from that connection. The Government delivering a speech in support of Home Rule, and he has never done so thereafter Self-rule or Home Rule whatever one might call it, is not the sole property of the triumvirate and New India. It has taken deep root in all India. and Surely it will not die away by the internment of these three patriots. It is, perhaps more likely that the cause will gain greater strength by actions like these, whan all those who work for it, will have of necessity to be interned. How far such a state of affairs will be conducive for the welfare and happiness of the rulers and the ruled, we leave for the Govenment to ponder over.

As we go to press we are staggered to find the answer given by Mr. Chamberlain the Secretary of State for India, in reply to a question put to him in the House of Commons last week. Surely it will cause similar pain to one and all friends of India.

A correspondent in the Kerala Sanchari, of the 4th July points out the internment of Mrs. Besant cannot be solely due to her efforts for the obtainment of self-government thinks, that, whatever may bbe the cause of the internment of Mrs. Besant and her associates, their release at as early a date as possible will, no doubt, put an end to the unrest and that the Government should gladly respond to public opinion on the matter, and observe:- THAT as the

Secretary of State also thinks that the action of the Madras Government was necessary, the agitation should hereafter be carried on in England.

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342. **<u>The Madras Mail.</u>**

(Dated 27th June 1917, para 69, page 19087).

The Andhrapatrika, of the 27th June, says:- Before the internment of Mrs. Besant, the Anglo-Indian appers had their swords drawn against her. They could not sleep till she was interned. Now that she had been interned, they are quite and look at political matters with a different attitude. ... The internment of Mrs. Besant has made the Congress leaders no longer indifferent towards the swaraj leagues. Political factions have disappeared and the whole of India is resounding with the cry of Swaraj, and the people of every province in India ~~is resounding with the cry of Swaraj and the people of every province in India~~ are in deep sympathy with the movement. In the new national movement which the Partition of Bengal gave rise to, responsible leaders of the people did not take any part. It is students and young men that showed great enthusiasm then. But now the members of the Legislative Councils and other leaders are the foremost supporters of the Swaraj movement. This great result must be attributed to Mrs. Besant's devotion to duty, disinterestedness and indefatigable energy, and to the great regard that the Indians had for her. The Anglo-Indian papers cannot but be enchanted by this state of things. From a perusal of the article on self-government, which appeared in yesterday's issue of the Madras Mail, it is plain that that paper also

has now understood the futility of repressive measures and has urged that the Government should sympathise with the aspirations of the people. Nobody would suppose that this paper which advocated repressive measures, ~~had has urged that the Government should sympathise with the aspirations of the people. Nobody would suppose that this~~ till yesterday is today in full agreement with the people. But there are indications of change in its attitude. It recommends greater freedom being granted to the people ø in local self-government. Everybody is aware that this paper immediately knows the reforms will soon come into ø force. From what the paper says it is to be inferred that the Government will retain very little authority on local Boards. The Government will not interfere with these local bodies unless they are guilty of unjust acts. The people have long been asking for non-officials district board presidents. The Mail says that the time has arrived for the grant of that wish. Power is to be granted to local boards to spend large sums for spreading elementary education This will satisfy the people to some extent. It is gratifying that in these days of agitation for Swaraj, the Government propose to give greater privileges to the local Boards. But it is an illusion to suppose that the people will be satisfied with such small reforms. They must be given financial independence in order that they may rest contented. But we are glad that the Government are treading peaceful paths. We submit that an endeavour on the part of the Government to lay a permanent foundation for self-government will draw the rulers and the ruled closer together in friendship.

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343. SWARAJ.

(Dated 24th June 1917, para 85, page 1909)

The Hitakarini of the 24th June writes:- The words of Sir S. Subrahmania Ayyar about Swaraj deserve to be preserved and enshrined in the heart of every Hindu....There is no other means of salvation for India than Swaraj. So the Indians should be as firm in the matter as Sir Subrahmania Ayyar. The principle of Swaraj should be inculcated to those who have not yet noticed the present greatmovement. We must give practical reply to the words of Lord Pentland. Those who can give money should give it. Others should give both physical and mental help.... It is the duty of every Indian to connect himself with the Swaraj agitation, and follow the orders of men who are old in wisdom. .... It is not God's intention that anybody should act arbitrarily. The agitation for Swaraj is ordained by God. All the Indians should in one voice echo this ideal. That, says Kavyakantha Ganapathi Sastri, will help us in getting swaraj. But doing is quite different from preaching.

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344. Madras internments: and conflict with national spirit.

(Dated 24th June 1917, para 86, page 1909)

The Hitakarini of the 24th June says in its leader:- There will be peace in a country, only so long as national spirit is not repressed and peace is the very life of administration. .... Both the rulers and the ruled are responsible for its preservation. The orders of the Government of Madras regarding internments must be admitted to be hostile to national progress in India. Various persons take various

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view, of it. Some are of opinion that the order lay the axe at the root of the tree of the country's advancement. In our opinion this is a conflict with the national spirit.

There should be no difference of opinion in regard to the statement that to prevent students from attending political meetings will lead to a tumult in the national spirit. We should not hereby understood to mean that Government are ill-disposed to students. .... Can there be anybody to ventures to say that, in the National Congress resolutions which violate the peace of the country and the orders of the Government will be passed? If there be such a man he will deserve the love of the people and the favour of the Government. Constitutional agitation is correlated to national progress. It is not known why such an agitation is being commenced. Who will not admit that unconstitutional agitation is to be condemned. Among those who appreciate the agitation for swaraj there is none who are so unwise as to approve of unconstitutional agitation. The Government are aware of this. No one who has read the opinions of such men as Sir S. Subrahmanya Ayyar, etc., will venture to say that the present agitation is unconstitutional and is dangerous to peace. Will not the people regret the fact that Mrs. Besant who had been most loyally carrying on a constitutional agitation with an eye on justice was interned.....If under the rule of the British who ar e determined to establish righteousness, movement calculated for national advancement are not encouraged, under what other Government will they be ~~(courageous)~~ encouraged? The rulers should help the advancement of nation and the protection of the religions as far as possible and ~~sho~~ should not interfere unnecessarily....This is a political agitation, ~~he should be~~ but without the help of the Government the nation cannot make any advancement. It was not

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proper on the part of the Madras Government to have unnecessarily taken severe steps to suppress the agitation in question. To use against persons not deserving to be killed, weapons which should be used against persons that deserve to be killed, is to use against cuckoos and parrots, darts which have been manufactured for use against cruel beasts... Who can say that anybody among such persons as Sir S. Subrahmania Ayyar and Pandit Madan Moham M Malaviya, is devoid of loyalty.

National power is very sharp. It alone possesses the power of deluge. .... As a result of the internments, th e whole of India is in a state of commotion. The grand manifestation of national spirit is reaching the sky. This is the time when the rulers should take a far-sighted view and do their duty. They have to carry out the suggestions ofthe Times of India. We submit that to help the development of the Indian nation will conduce to the happiness of the whole world as to the restoration of peace.

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345. **Home Rule for India.**

(Dated the 2nd July 1917, para 93, page 1912)

The Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 2nd July writes:- The British authorities say that India will be regarded as an integral part of the empire and that she has been admitted to the Imperial Conference to enable her to make her suggestions. The confinement of the fighters for Home Rule, despite this, raises a doubt in the minds of the people as to how far the British Kingdom will go on (sic). Besides, some people, thinking that by creating disunion among the Indians they can be rendered unfit for home rule have brought

about differences between the Brahmans and the Non-Brahmans. The Indians too, not understanding the secret, revel in mutual hatred and seek each other's ruin. Seeing all this we may safely affirm that Home Rule for India will be a mere dream.

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346. **The duty of the people.**

(Dated 3rd July 1917, para 96, page 1913).

In the course of a lengthy article under this heading, the Sampad Abhyudaya, of the 3rd July writes:- Some things which we, at times, take years to get, at other times, we are able to get in a second. Just as a hungry child cries to its mother for food it is very natural that the people should ask for greater privileges; and the Government, like a mother, may grant the request at one time and disallow at another. When we, the people, ask for independence how queer it is that we should say:- "Have you not obtained independence from your rulers? Then grant the same to us too!" We must give up such faulty arguments and prove our fitness to obtain larger privileges and then ask for those privileges and fight for them. When we have thus proved our capacity, it would be the duty of the Government to grant us greater liberty. The people of India having enjoyed a large measure of liberty in the administration from time immemorial, they are fully trained in the art of self-government. It is nothing new to them. Even when the ancestors of the advanced westerners and western nations of the present day were very backward, were there not large empires in India? Self-Government is, therefore, as easy as their daily routine to Indians. What justification can there be then for denying them home rule? Has not Russia obtained her liberty? Was not Ireland

granted Home Rule? Have not the Americans granted independence to the Phillipines, whom they conquered only about a hundred (sic) years ago? Are we Indians inferior to all these? It behoves the British authorities to think over this. Was it wrong to have asked for Home Rule in this war time? How was it right to have interned Mrs. Besant and others who asked for it? Would it not lead to popular discontent and a feeling of despair among the people that self-government will not come to them at an early date? Have not the British authorities decided to treat the colonies such as Canada and Australia as their equals? How are we inferior to them? Have not Indians provided more men and money than everybody else? Have not the Indians merited applause from every quarter by their heroism, which was of the type which the Pandavas displayed in the Mahabharata War? Have not even the Indian rulers risked their lives and gone to the front? Although there is only a very small army at present, is there not perfect peace in this land with a population of 30 crores? What further evidence need there be to show that the Indians are perfectly loyal to the British Empire? The Indians have never been so loyal to any other ruler. So then, the grant of Home Rule which they ask for now would only be an adequate return for their services and loyalty and not of the nature of a gift. If the Government should promise Home Rule at the close of the war, the present agitation would doubtless decrease. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the British will regard the Indians with greater confidence and promise them Home Rule and soon take steps to fulfil it.

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347. **The Madras Protest Meeting.**

(Dated 27th June 1917, para 100, page 1915).

Referring to the Madras Protest meeting against the recent internments the Kerala Sanchari, of the 27th June points out that the extreme and objectionable character of the methods, adopted by the Home Rule party, may more or less be attributed to the attitude of the Anglo Indian papers towards Indian demands, which in spite of the Press Act go to the length of passing severe strictures on generous and sympathetic Viceroys too, and that, in view of the Secretary of State's statement on the subject, it is doubtful whether the Madras Government can be made solely responsible for the orders against Mrs. Besant and others, who however, have not swerved an inch from the path of loyalty even when their zeal for self-government led them to adopt objectionable methods, and whom the members of the British Parliament, the Prime Minister and His Majesty the King-Emperor himself will, it is to be hoped, soon release and says:- Several of the well-known Indian leaders are of opinion that the action of the Madras Government against Mrs. Besant was wrong , and this view is gradually spreading among the epople in general. Such ~~a/n (imprisonment?)~~ an impression among the people in general, whether it be right or wrong, cannot be conducive to the welfare of India. That the desire for self-government on the part of the Indian leaders is a deep-rooted one, is proved by the establishment of Home Rule Leagues, by the increase in the number of members thereof and by the amount of money pouring in towards their maintenance and support, all these being the consequences of this incident (internment). A rich man in Bombay has contributed a lakh of rupees to the Home Rule League therein. The Government's present action has like the "curse of Urivasi" proved to be a blessing in disguise, inasmuch as it has augmented the

the people's desire and zeal for self-government, which there is reason to believe will, in the present circumstances, go on increasing. The Government are not opposedto the grant of Home Rule, the difference of opinion being as only with regard to the time and manner of granting it. The Indian leaders will do well to bear this in mind, and strive for the attainment of the object in a manner that may satisfy the Government as well as the people.

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348. <u>The internments and the Indian and the Anglo-Indian press.</u>

(Dated 29th June 1917, para 105, page 1917)

Anent the fight between the Anglo-Indian and Indian press regarding the internments, the Yogakshemam of the 29th June, points out that, though in number and following the Indian papers are superior to the Anglo-Indian papers the latter are freer and have the support of the Government, and that therefore it may be more or less ~~suggested,~~ guessed which of the ~~x~~ two will be worsted in the struggle, refers to the admission by a European paper in Northern India that the action of the Madras Government was rash (impatient), and that it might lead to various troubles, and says: It appears that the action of the Madras Government has created great unrest in all parts of India, and many say that this unrest will have greater force than that which was created by the ~~XXXXXXXXXX XX~~ partition of Bengal.

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349. **The present condition -- No.1.**

(Dated the 24th June 1917, para 113, page 1919).

The Qaumi Report of the 24th June writes:- The orders of the Government of Madras have produced a marked change in the atmosphere and the atmospheric condition of the city is not the same as it was a month ago. Changes are taking place in ideas, sentiments, and feelings, and it appears there is not likely to be much peace and quietness in the lot of Madras in future.

Mussalmans are most affected by the present condition. Home Rule and its hopes are before them, and it is explained to them and it is explained to them that you and we are identical, touching the service of the mother country who who has a claim on you too.

Liberty is the first principle of Islam and a Mussalman cannot speak evil of freedom but the idea of political freedom is also rankling in his mind, and he is thinking whether this desired freedom will enslave him or not. What will be the position of Islam and Mussalmans under Home Ru[l] It is said, "It will be a time of freedom and that Mussa[l]mans will be given equal rights in the administration of India. They will be allowed to act in accordance with th[eir] principles and tenets. In fact they will enjoy greater religious liberty, because in the administrative body their opinion would have the most weight and the decision of any re[li]gious question would be based upon Mussalman advice.

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The breeze of freedom ~~xxxxxx xx~~ being waffled over men's minds and the spectacle of liberty is placed before their eyes. Mussalmans are dumb. They are looking back and muttering and then look about in front. They know what their actual condition is and, if the present atmosphere continue to exist, what their future is likely to be.

There is no doubt that the Government has fogrgotten the Mussalmans. Moreover both parties have lost their former enthusiasm. One section of Mussalmans, the relied implicitly and with the utmost assurance on the Government, has now become feeble, and its voice weak. The advancement of the country has left it several stages behind, and there is now no hope, nay, it is impossible that it will ever regain its lost place of honour. The market of constitutional endeavour is very brisk, and time proclaims that the future condition of the world can never be the same as it was before. We observe that there is a life and death struggle going on between Monarchy and Democracy. The Tsaar and constantine are making their abode in the wilderness, and in England democracy is discussed in assemblies.

This party, foreign and unknown to the community, wishes to exercise its influence and submit to the rulers ideas formed and shaped by itself, just for the sake of bread and butter (lit. salt). But the rulers themselves are fully aware that the representations of this party are miles away from fact and knowledge. For example, a so-called well-informed person, who has no knowledge of anything, outside the four walls of his house and has not the energy to attend meetings, recently wrote that "no Mussalman attended the Thursday's meeting," although the Mussalmans who were present, flatly contradict the statement. Does the Government

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